

The DC Gazette

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Whole Number 228

A NEW APPROACH TO CITY GOVERNMENT



REDEFINING JURIES



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PROGRESSIVE DIGEST

Justice

A study of 6000 adults with criminal records over 32 years in Racine, Wisconsin, has found that nearly all the male subjects and most of the female subjects began their criminal careers as teenagers. Some eighty-eight percent greatly ended their unlawful activity by the time they reached adulthood. Less than eight percent said they went straight because of fear of getting caught. Those who were actually caught and punished were more likely to continue their criminality. The study was done by sociologist Lyle Shannon of the University of Iowa and was reported recently in *Psychology Today*. Commenting on the study, Ira Schwartz, former director of the US Office of Juvenile Justice, said, "We're over-intervening. We're institutionalizing lightweights, and increasing the likelihood of their returning to crime."

•

Attending a rock concert in Seattle no longer means putting up with a pat-down search by the local police. In a unanimous decision, the Washington State Supreme Court has declared that practice unconstitutional. The Seattle police had been conducting the warrant-less searches since 1971 as a way of keeping rock fans from bringing, booze, drugs and weapons into the concert halls. But four people took the matter to court, complaining that the cops confiscated an unopened pack of cigarettes and heart medicine. The supreme court, noting that the Seattle police had no written policies or guidelines governing the frisks, agreed with the rock fans, calling the damage to their "freedom from unreasonable searches . . . incalculable."

* * *

Minneapolis police have launched "target eight"—round-the-clock surveillance on eight repeat offenders who aren't suspected of anything now, but are considered highly likely to commit another crime sometime. The program has caused quite a stir among civil libertarians, who claim the police surveillance is unconstitutional. Not so, according to Police Chief Anthony Bouza, who says, "I don't see why I have to sit here and wait for victims to be piled on my doorstep." Ironically, Chief Bouza has a reputation as a liberal, fighting for gay and minority rights and criticizing police brutality. But, he says, "being a liberal doesn't mean you have to be a wimp."

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THE DC GAZETTE

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The Gazette welcomes articles, letters and photos as well as short stories and poems, but cannot, unfortunately, afford to pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped self-addressed envelope if you wish material returned.

Deadline for editorial and advertising matter: 15th of the month.

EDITOR: Sam Smith

CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS: Chuck Stone, Eric Green, Bob Alperin, Josiah X. Swampoodle, Jon Rowe, Charles McDowell, Eugene McCarthy

CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson
DC GAZETTE
 1739 Conn. Ave. NW.
 DC 20009
 202-232-5544

Memo to public interest groups & progressive organizations

- Are we on your mailing list for your newsletter? News releases? Please check.
- We are interested in short articles on work in progress, projects and analyses of current events.
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portedly spends one page talking about abortion and only one paragraph on the question of duplication of agency efforts.

Under AID's guidelines, agency publications cannot include "information, education, lobbying [or] training on programs that seek to promote abortion as a method of family planning." Jeannie Rosoff, president of the Guttmacher Institute, maintains that the articles do, indeed, follow those guidelines. Rosoff calls the funding cut-off part of a "campaign of censorship."

* * *

Environment

The nuclear industry has launched a \$40 million campaign to change the "negative image" of nuclear power. Further, efforts are being made by various utilities to pass the cost of the campaign on to consumers. To find out more, contact, the Safe Energy Communication Council, 1609 Conn. Avenue NW (4B) DC 20009, 202-483-8491.

Chemical accidents afflicted Americans in 39 states last year, according to the *Hazardous Materials Newsletter*. The publication reports that at least 99 people were killed in chemical mishaps in 1982, and more than 100,000 were evacuated from homes and work. Texas and California had the highest number of spills—39 and 29 respectively. Illinois had the highest number of fatalities—23.

The sexes

The National Science Foundation has found women throughout the country are entering the computer field in record numbers.

The NSF's most recent estimates show the number of female computer specialists has increased 44 percent from 1978 to 1980. Women represented 26 percent of all people employed in computer specialties in 1980.

Many reasons have been advanced for this increase, but computer instructor Walter Kristiblas says it's just a matter of performance finally counting for more than gender. "A lot of forward-looking people . . . are going after the brainpower and concentrating less on social aspects," he told *Popular Computing* magazine.

* * *

The federal government has cut off funds for an independent family planning publication, on the grounds that two of its articles "constituted advocacy" of abortion.

The *Washington Post* says the Agency for International Development turned down a funding request from the Alan Guttmacher Institute to publish its magazine, *International Family Planning Perspectives*.

Richard Miller, chair of AID's publication review board, officially said the board turned down the request because the agency helps print "27 other publications . . . directed at a similar or the same audience." However, the *Post* reports that debate at the board meeting stressed the abortion issue. In addition, an internal memo written by Miller re-

Media

The Washington news bureau of RKO Broadcasting surveyed publishers, editors and bureau chiefs of the nation's largest newspapers and found the hometown publishers approve of the president a lot more than their people in Washington. Publishers gave Reagan a 51 percent approval rating, compared to just a 24 percent rating from the Washington correspondents. And nearly three-quarters of the capital's bureau chiefs say Reagan's record is poor, compared with 41 percent of the publishers.

* * *

Holland's Philips Corporation says it's developed a silicon chip that could shrink FM radios to the size of thumbtacks and turn every TV set into a stereo receiver. The new chip reportedly provides better sound than a Sony Walkman, and costs only \$1.50. The development means we can expect a flood of FM-radio/cigarette lighters and key chains. And, shades of Dick Tracy: an FM watch from Seiko should be available in U.S. stores this fall, cost: \$80.

Shop talk

According to DC's City Paper, heavy conflict has developed between Stewart Mott and the Fund for Peace -- an umbrella group of fifty liberal organizations working on the peace issue, to which Mott has donated millions of dollars over the past 15 years. Debate centers on Mott's taping of executive council meetings. Critics say Mott's action was "surreptitious;" Mott prefers "not authorized."

PEGGY HAKER has left the Campaign for Political Rights. Shaker, who was executive director, had been with the Campaign since it was founded in 1966. The new executive director is RICHARD MASLOW, a community organizer in DC who has worked with the Washington Peace Center and other organizations.

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ELISIE FISCHER and TILL BARTELS have left the staff of the Washington Peace Center. SUZANNE DE SEIFE has joined the staff and the WPC is looking for a coordinator. Write Jan Philips, 1716 South Oakland St., Arlington VA 22204. Better check the center at 234-2000 to make sure the position hasn't been filled.

Economics

Despite all the talk of economic recovery, the startling fact is that "real" interest rates (i.e. the interest rate minus the rate of inflation) are at record levels. Here are some real interest rate figures Federal Reserve chair Paul Volker recently gave to Congress:

1962: 3.4%
1970: 2.0%
1975: -1.2%
1980: 1.8%
1982: 7.6%

In other words, the generally unreported news is that real rates are actually higher now than they were when the apparent rate was 21%.

At a time of limited real growth in the economy and low inflation, this means businesses and individuals are paying extraordinary interest rates despite the optimistic news you read in the paper and hear from the administration.

The estimated budget deficit for fiscal 1984 is greater than that of all four years of the Carter administration. The total actual and estimated budget deficits for the four years of the Reagan administration is equivalent to \$22 million more than the accumulated deficit of the last two years of the Roosevelt administration and all the years of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations combined. We know it sounds unbelievable but you can check our figures using the chart on pages 24-25 of the Feb. 7 1983 US News & World Report.

A group of nurses in Los Altos, California, have set up their own cooperative nurses registry, after the agency they worked for closed its doors.

May Hull, the president of the new nonprofit registry, says the agency is able to cut costs to patients, while still providing nurses on-call to area hospitals. Says Hull: "Commercial registries are in business to make money and they're making a lot of money."

The Community Professional Nurses Registry, however, passes all earnings on to the nurses, after deducting the costs of staffing their office. Savings to the patients, according to Hull, amount to \$45 to \$55 per eight-hour shift.

The cooperative registry is believed to be the first of its kind.

Nearly thirty years after the last coal-fired locomotive chugged into oblivion, America's oil-

Flotsam & Jetsam

A BOOK LENGTH collection of essays by Gazette editor Sam Smith culled from 15 years of this journal and a few other places. Topics cover a wide field including trains, England, music, home computers, football, the humanities, pumping iron, Benjamin Franklin, corruption, ghostwriters, becoming forty, Martin Luther King and words and meaning. If you have enjoyed the Gazette, we believe you will find this collection appealing.

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Neighborhood Bill of Responsibilities and Rights

The National Association of Neighborhoods is a membership organization of neighborhood organizations from around the country. The membership of the N.A.N. wrote and adopted the following N.A.N. Neighborhood Bill of Responsibilities and Rights in Philadelphia in 1976.

The ideal of neighborhood government rests upon the belief that people can and should govern themselves democratically and justly. The essence of a democratic government is that people are responsible collectively to make choices which directly affect their lives together. The neighborhood is a political unit which makes this possible, since the smallness of the neighborhood enables all residents to deliberate, decide and act together for the common good.

We share our neighborhoods with individuals and families of diverse needs, interests, backgrounds and beliefs. When neighbors respect their diversity in their collective decision, their self-government can be just. Similarly, our neighborhoods share city and world life with other neighborhoods. When neighborhoods respect their diversities and interdependence in inter-neighborhood decision and action, justice will be further served.

In the past, neighborhoods and their citizens have been denied the opportunity for exercising their political rights and assuming their responsi-

bilities. Consequently, justice has not been achieved. In order to overcome this past failure, we assert that all governments and private institutions must recognize the following:

The right of neighborhoods to determine their own goals, consistent with the broad civic ideals of justice and human equality;

The right of neighborhoods to define their own governing structures, operating procedures, names and boundaries;

The right of democratically organized neighborhoods to control private and public resources necessary for the implementation and support of neighborhood decisions;

The right of democratically organized neighborhoods to review in advance and decisively influence all stages of planning and implementation of all actions of government and private institutions affecting the neighborhood; and

The right of neighborhoods to information necessary to carry out these rights.

For more information write the National Association of Neighborhoods, 1901 Q St. NW, DC 20009

dependent railroads may be on the verge of a second steam era. A model under development by a company called American Coal Enterprises looks just like a contemporary diesel engine: instead of a tender, coal is carried in modular packs that allow 15,000 hours of uninterrupted operation. Also gone is the fireman, replaced by a microcomputer that monitors the flow of coal to the firebox for maximum efficiency. ACE says the new steam engines will produce little pollution and no cinders or ash. If every railroad converted from diesel to steam, the company claims, they would save a third of their fuel costs each year.

Housing

The New Jersey Supreme Court has ordered municipalities statewide to move affirmatively to meet the housing needs of low and moderate income citizens. The Court's unanimous decision resolved six consolidated cases, including *Urban League of Greater New Brunswick v. Borough of Carteret*, a case brought eight years ago by the National Com-

mittee Against Discrimination in Housing, which challenged the zoning ordinances of nearly two dozen Middlesex County municipalities. "This undoubtedly is one of the most significant land use decisions in history," NCDH Executive Director Martin E. Sloane said.

In reversing the appellate division's dismissal of the *Carteret* suit, the seven-member Court said the plaintiffs "proved beyond any question that there was a present actual need for low and moderate income housing in the 23 Middlesex County municipalities initially joined as defendants and that this need would become overwhelming in the future. They proved a pattern of exclusionary zoning that was clear."

The January 20 decision reaffirmed the court's 1975 holding in *Southern Burlington County NAACP v. Mount Laurel Township* requiring "that municipalities' land use regulations provide a realistic opportunity for low and moderate income housing." Specifically the court held that local zoning ordinances which exclude low income housing violate the state constitution, and that

each developing municipality has a constitutional duty to provide its fair share of such housing for the region. In a 270-page decision, Chief Justice Robert N. Wilentz wrote, "The State controls the use of land, *all* of the land. In exercising that control it cannot favor rich over poor. It cannot legislatively set aside dilapidated housing in urban ghettos for the poor, and [reserve] decent housing elsewhere for everyone else."

The court specifically held that in satisfying its obligation every municipality in the state must provide a realistic opportunity for decent housing to meet the needs of its indigenous poor. Moreover, each municipality designated as a "growth area" also must provide a realistic opportunity for construction of lower income housing to meet its regional fair share obligation. Further, the court held that this obligation requires elimination of exclusionary zoning or other cost-producing obstacles, and may require affirmative governmental devices such as lower income density bonuses, mandatory set-asides, development of mobile homes, and cooperation in securing federal subsidies.

Working Mothers and their Families A Fact Sheet

In 1981, 31.8 million children under 18 years, or 54% of the total, had mothers in the labor force.

More children than ever before have mothers who work for pay outside the home. In 1970, 25.5 million children, or 39%, had mothers in the labor force. The number has grown by 6.2 million since then, despite a 6.6 million decline in the population of children under 18. In 1981, 59% of black children had mothers in the labor force, compared to 53% of white children.

In 1981, 8.2 million children under 6 years, or 45% of the total, had mothers in the labor force.

This was an increase of almost 7% from 1980 when there were 7.7 million children under 6 who had mothers in the labor force. In 1970, 29% of all preschoolers had mothers who worked for pay.

51.5% of all mothers with children under 18 years were in the labor force in 1981.

In 1981 there were 18.4 million mothers working outside the home who had children under 18 years; 48.9% of mothers with children under 6 years were in the labor force. In the past year the number of working mothers increased by 600,000; those mothers with children under 6 years were responsible for 60% of the increase.

In 1980 the median annual income for two-parent families with children was \$26,500 when the mother was in the labor force and \$21,300 when she was not.

The median annual income for white two-parent families was \$26,900 when the mother worked outside the home and \$21,700 when she did not. For black two-parent families the median annual income was \$23,000 when the mother was in the labor force and \$14,900 when she was not.

In 1981, 11.6 million children, one out of every five, were living with only one parent.

This was an increase of almost 60% from 1970 when one out of every nine children lived with one parent. In 1981, 50% of all black children lived with one parent, compared to 15% of all white children.

67.9% of women who maintain families with children under 18 were in the labor force in 1981.

The number of female-headed households has more than doubled in the past 20 years, from 4.5 million in 1960 to 9.4 million in 1981, when approximately one of every five mothers in the labor force was maintaining her own family. Almost one-quarter of women who maintain their own families have children under 6 years, and over 54% of these mothers with preschoolers were in the labor force in 1981, almost double the number a decade ago.

Women who maintain families with children under 18 are employed mainly as clerical and service workers; these two occupational categories account for almost 60% of their jobs.

In 1980, 4.6 million families with children lived in poverty.

About 7% of married couples with children were poor in 1980 while 44% of families maintained by women lived in poverty.

In 1980 the median annual income of women maintaining families with children under 18 was \$8,300.

Their median annual income was \$11,200 when the women were in the labor force and \$4,500 when they were not. In 1980 white women maintaining families with children under 18 had median annual incomes of \$9,400. When they were in the labor force their annual income was \$11,900; it was \$4,700 when they were not. In 1980 black women maintaining families with children under 18 had median annual incomes of \$6,600. Their annual income was \$9,500 when they were in the labor force and \$4,100 when they were not.

In 1981 approximately 7 million children under age 14 were left alone each day without any supervision while their parents worked.

There are about 13 million children under age 14 whose mothers work full-time. However, the demand for child care far exceeds the supply. And the number of children needing child care is growing. As mothers continue to enter the workforce, there is increased need for infant and preschooler care as well as after-school care for older children.

In 1980 the median annual income for women over 65 years was \$4,226.

Whether women work outside the home or in the home, statistics show that as women become older, they are likely to be poor. In fact, they are the fastest growing poverty group in America today. In 1980 women in the workforce who were 45 years of age and older earned about half of what older men earned. Thirty-five percent of working women 55 years or older fell below the poverty line.

International

Congressman Joe Moakley, (D-Mass.) and 76 other representatives have introduced a resolution calling on the President to immediately engage in negotiations with the Soviet Union and the world community directed toward a complete and verifiable ban on weapons of any kind from space, including weapons based elsewhere for use against space targets.

"This Administration," said Moakley, "is not content with spreading the threat of total destruction across the earth. Now it wants to carry these very real dangers into space."

Moakley introduced the same legislation at the end of the last Congress as a response to what he says are the "imminent dangers" of an arms race in space.

The Soviet Union has for several years been testing a crude anti-satellite weapon which is launched from a land-based missile and is aimed at low-orbiting satellites.

By early spring the United States hopes to test a much more sophisticated, and versatile, ASAT which could be launched from an F-15 fighter aircraft. Because of the speed and low warning time, the U.S. system will be far superior to that of the Soviets. Once the U.S. ASAT is operational, Moakley believes every F-15 will become a potential ASAT platform in the Soviet eyes. As this U.S. technology surpasses that of the Soviets, Moakley contends they will respond by developing an even more sophisticated weapon. Such "leapfrogging," says Moakley, will lead to a new arms race, and it would make verification of any future treaties on ASAT's difficult to achieve.

"If we are to prevent an arms race in space, this is the opportune time; before the technology gets out of hand," Moakley said.

"Look how difficult it is for us now to control weapons," Moakley continued. "Instead of debating the existence of these deadly devices, we must debate their numbers. If we can stop now the deployment of weapons in space, we can, once and for all, put a lid on the arms race."

Currently, the United States is spending enormous sums of money to develop ASAT's and other forms of space weaponry. Among them are futuristic lasers and particle beam weapons. During the 1983 fiscal year, for the first time, the amount of money the Pentagon will spend on its space activities will exceed the entire budget of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Much of that money is devoted to developing, launching and maintaining unarmed satellites which are used for reconnaissance, weather tracking, communications and treaty verification.

While acknowledging the benefits of these systems, Moakley maintains that the Defense Department is committed to weaponizing space.

Some members of Congress support the idea of the "High Frontier," a notion that exotic space weapons can be used to gain a strategic advantage over the Soviets.

"The 'High Frontier' is high foolishness," said Moakley. "The civilian and military satellite systems of all nations act as our planet's central nervous system. So much of the information we rely

on to maintain peace comes from such systems. To jeopardize these satellites would be to jeopardize our security, and would increase the chances of accidental or intentional nuclear war."

Moakley has also expressed concern with the cost of weaponizing space, and the burden it would place on the United States' already weak economy.

"This Administration has committed itself to arming our nation to the teeth; no matter what the cost; no matter what the consequences," Moakley said. "But how can we justify opening up a 'Pandora's Box' of space weapons when America's breadboxes are empty?"

Senator Paul Tsongas and Senator Mark Hatfield will jointly introduce the Moakley legislation in the Senate.

The War Resisters League holds its 60th anniversary national conference on July 14-17 at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. Write WRL, 339 Lafayette St., NYC NY 10012 for details.

Health

If you think you're fat, there's about an even chance you're wrong. A survey of nearly 6,000 Americans between ages 14 and 61 revealed more than 40 percent thought of themselves as overweight. In fact, only 22 percent were. The Rand Corporation, which conducted the study, says, "many people appear to be using a stricter standard for their own weight than is required for good health." Not surprisingly, the researchers found this was especially true among women and younger people.

According to a new book called "Food Sleuths," the American rump has grown four inches wider in the past 50 years. Our expanding rears reportedly made it necessary for Yankee Stadium to eliminate 9,000 seats when it increased seat width from 15 to 19 inches.

The Food and Drug Administration is worried about a preservative commonly used in salad bars across the country that may be dangerous to asthmatics and cause cancer among the general population. The FDA wants to restrict the use of sodium bisulfite pending investigation of claims that the chemical is "life-threatening." The Center for Science in the Public Interest has petitioned the FDA to ban the substance outright, noting that "some sensitive people went into coma and almost died" after being exposed to it. Restaurants spray sodium bisulfite on the veggies in salad bars to keep them fresh. Some 5,000,000 pounds of the preservative also enters the US food supply every year in a broad range of foods, from baked goods to wine. Lobbyists for the food-service industry want the FDA to delay any action on the chemical pending further study of its safety. "The real worry," says one industry spokesman, "is that premature publicity regarding unproven hazards could lead to public panic."

Cross-cultural current of the month: a new country & western song called "BASIC Ain't the Language of Love."

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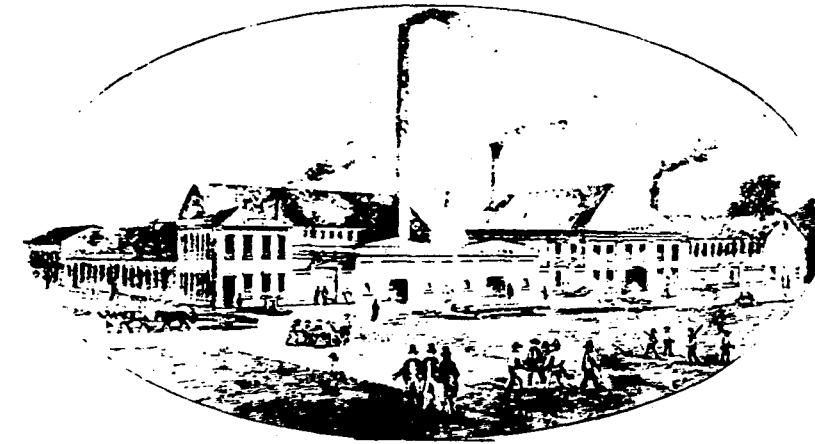
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THE IDEA MILL

Self-reliant city?

ALLISON ENGEL

As state and federal dollars for cities dry up, municipalities increasingly have been forced to raise property taxes or cut services. After several years of doing both, the city of St. Paul has embarked on a bold and admittedly risky plan for a third alternative. It will re-examine the fundamental role of government and, in theory, give neighborhood groups broad responsibility for deciding how city money should be spent in their areas.

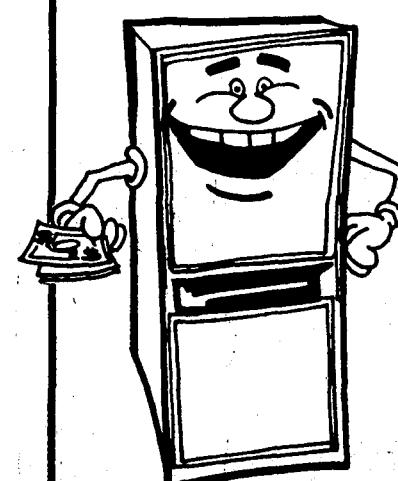
The plan was initiated by St. Paul's popular four-term mayor, George Latimer, who calls it a plan for a "self-reliant city." The Rand Corporation of Santa Monica, CA, hired to do analysis and projections, is hoping to sell its results to other troubled cities. The Ford Foundation has pledged \$150,000, the Department of Housing and Urban Development \$100,000, and local foundations and

corporations have coughed up \$127,000 thus far to get the project started.

The proposal revolves around public decisions on which services are essential and which are not. City taxes would continue to pay for essential services, while user fees or pay-as-you-go assessments would finance the others. The option of adding special assessments is particularly attractive to a capital city like St. Paul, where 28 percent of the land is owned by tax-exempt bodies. Special assessments are one way of recouping city costs for providing services to churches, schools, state and federal buildings.

Also studied will be whether the city should be providing specific services at all, or if private industry can do them cheaper or more efficiently. St. Paul, like many cities, has been turning over some services—most recently trash collection—to the private sector. Latimer's plan calls for the remaining city services to operate more like businesses and compete with private industry.

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Armed with Rand's realistic revenue projections, city officials and representatives from neighborhood councils will then determine a scaled-down list of services that will be provided to everyone. Each of the city's 17 elected neighborhood councils will decide how the remaining discretionary funds should be spent in their area. For example, one neighborhood might want to spend more for street lighting but less for recreational programs. The tough job of allocating scarce resources may even result in neighborhoods deciding to consolidate city libraries with public school libraries, or levying additional taxes upon themselves.

Mayor Latimer and other city officials are vague about whether or not neighborhood councils will actually be given lump sums of money, saying details such as these will be decided only after full public debate. Also unresolved is the issue of equity between rich and poor neighborhoods. Rand officials mention possible safeguards such as sliding scale fees or credit card-like vouchers issued to low income households for purchasing city services.

The mayor, who has been critical of Reagan Administration budget cuts to the poor, said he is committed to bringing about his version of the "New Federalism" without pitting neighborhood against neighborhood and rich against poor. "Inequality is the biggest fear I have. We simply can't permit the plan to become divisive."

But, he noted, the alternative to drastically restructuring government is to "condemn city residents to destructive and divisive competition for declining resources."

A second part of the plan is a proposed overhaul of the city's personnel system, which the mayor's assistant, Dick Broeker, has characterized as a "large, inflexible, unmanageable mass." City officials want changes in long-standing Civil Service hiring and promotion rules, and cooperation from the 30 unions that represent city workers. "City departments must be allowed to test their market and produce services citizens want," the city's written proposal states. They must be allowed to change work crew size, have the latitude to switch suppliers, and move closer to self financing.

The third component of the plan is support for new and "home-grown" small businesses. City officials say the brightest job prospects lie with small manufacturing companies, and they are interested in new technologies that can recycle some of St. Paul's abundant "problem" resources—like wood chips from diseased elm trees or river sludge polluted with heavy metals.

The multi-faceted plan is sweeping and controversial, with something in it to offend nearly every established interest group, yet nebulous enough to confuse those who aren't offended. Nevertheless, it doesn't exist in a vacuum. For several years, neighborhood representatives have decided which streets the city would pave or community centers would be built. Currently, the administration is creating a new city utility to provide more economical heat for all downtown office buildings. Echoes of the self-reliance philosophy are also being heard in a Citizen League's study calling for neighborhood autonomy of the schools and in a proposal to institute competition in metropolitan transit services.

The bulk of the public debate on municipal reform thus far has centered around individual assessments already charged for snow ploughing, street maintenance and tree trimming. The new charges have caused a flood of angry letters to the St. Paul newspapers and much skepticism about the equality of the assessments. Mayor Latimer believes such skepticism is healthy. He worries more that the reform idea is abstract and "a great sedative to 98 percent of the people in the city. If you ask them about reshaping government, the answer you'll get is 'lower taxes and add services.'"

That equation just isn't possible in St. Paul. Property taxes have gone up 50 percent in the last seven years and are now at the legal maximum. Since 1978, budget cutbacks have forced a 20 percent decline in the city workforce. In 1982, one-fourth of the city's total street lights were turned off in an effort to save money, as were many traffic signals. Library and recreation center hours were trimmed, as were the number of city street crews.

But for many other reasons, St. Paul is a good candidate for reform. Rand was attracted to the city, said project official Anthony Pascal, because St. Paul always has provided high quality services, because the mayor was dynamic and secure politi-



cally, and because the Twin Cities area is known as progressive and open-minded.

Even more important, since 1978 St. Paul has had an established network of 17 neighborhood councils, each with a paid community organizer. These councils oversee such projects as neighborhood newspapers, crime watches, alley clean ups, lobbying, community gardens, recycling efforts, art fairs and block nurses.

Although the councils are advisory, their part in key decisions such as capital improvements shows they do have clout. Jerry Jenkins, the community participation coordinator for the city, said that many of the neighborhood organizers and residents are wary of the city's plan. "If we are really going to let the neighborhoods choose services, what happens if we all decide to use each other's libraries and close our own? It's very hard to give up the notion that the whole menu of city services isn't going to be there."

Kiki Sonnen, a community organizer for the Midway Neighborhood, voices a common suspicion about the alliance with Rand. "St. Paul increasingly is going to think-tank institutions for policy," she said. "It's faster and less confused than opening it up to public debate. Even if there is public debate after the Rand study has been made, how can a volunteer citizen's group argue against figures that have gone into their computers in Santa Monica? We're being set up for failure." She also has doubts that the neighborhoods will have much power and is concerned about equity for low income residents. "If you're going to have a so-called safeguard system, you're going to need another bureaucracy set up to determine who's eligible."

City councilman Jim Scheibel, who is basically optimistic about the plan, noted another potential problem. "Responsibilities always fall on the shoulders of the same people in the neighborhoods," he says. "I'm always convinced that they really want more work or more projects." Still,

Scheibel says he is heartened by the beginnings of public debate over Latimer's plan.

In addition, Mayor Latimer has expressed interest in running for the U.S. Senate in 1984, and even his close aides express uncertainty over what would happen to his pioneering plans if he were not here to push them along.

"The important thing," says the mayor, "is that government—the pointy-headed bureaucrats—are raising these fundamental issues before it's an absolute crisis situation. It's a plan that takes people seriously and requires a lot more maturity from public officials, voters and taxpayers than in the past."

Whether it succeeds or fails, this basic debate over what government should be and how it should deliver services is unique in this country. As city finance director Peter Hames put it: "I'm not aware of any place that has been as forthright about raising the issue as St. Paul. What we're really talking about is a public discussion of what citizenship means in the 1980s."

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Sharing the goodies

LEO HAMALIAN

In Denmark, if the parents of 28 children come together, they can open a private school, with the state providing about 85% of the average cost per student in public school. By adding a 15% "top up" a month to this sum, parents can set up their own school. They only have to follow the national curriculum in math, English, and Danish.

About one of seven primary and secondary pupils in Denmark are now attending such independent schools, with the number growing annually. In a country of five million people, there are presently about five hundred such schools of every level. No regulations govern the hiring of teachers, but the great majority of them are qualified. Care is taken to make sure that the 15% "topping up" does not create too wide a financial disparity between the independent and the state-run schools. This "topping up" not only saves public money, but it also tests the motivation of the parents who set up these schools. And doing so does take some dedication. A committee of at least three persons will hire a building (it must meet health and safety codes), generally with a bank guarantee, and after six months of independent operation, the committee applies for a loan to buy the building. The parents must raise roughly 15% of the loan themselves, but the 85% given for each pupil takes account of building costs.

In the Netherlands, an astonishing 70% of all children attend independent schools fully funded by the state. Institutions or groups proclaiming a distinct philosophy, be it religious or secular, may set up these independent yet state-financed schools so long as they guarantee to maintain a minimum pupil enrollment. The number of students required in the primary range varies from 50 in small centers of population to 125 in the large. The building is bought with public money and the school funded at the amount that the state would normally pay

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a public school for each pupil. Teachers must be qualified; they receive the same salary as public-school teachers. The pupil/teacher ratio of the public schools must be matched and the schools are inspected to see that they provide the minimum number of hours of teaching that the state codes set in each subject.

The advance that this plan represents over what we now have in America—a free but bureaucratic public system on one hand and an expensive private system on the other—is worth considering. Parents and institutional groups can, if they wish, break out of the state educational system without having to be affluent or satisfying an arbitrary admissions procedure. In effect, the Dutch/Danish alternative would give low-income parents who prefer a small independent school access to the same high-quality private schooling that presently well-to-do families can purchase. Furthermore, this system would encourage parents in rural areas to continue with schools that local authorities sometimes want to close.

It could be argued that standards of public education in this country could be revitalized by either firm direction from Washington or by open competition. For healthy reasons, in the past we have had neither, nor felt the need. Now, however, the moment has come when it would be instructive to see what an infusion of "people's power" (with no increased cost of public funds) would do for our educational system.

I expect that a large number of educators and some other especially-positioned groups would oppose such a suggestion, on grounds not hard to imagine. Yet it is fascinating that in both countries all political parties, including the Communist, favor the idea of independent schools controlled by parents.

Were such a plan adopted here, even the most dedicated defenders of our present system would have to admit that these independent schools in all likelihood would never become bastions of social or academic elitism. They could, on the contrary, develop into radical exponents of people's power in action. Both personal freedom and educational standards might be enhanced. And finally this plan would end the fruitless and often acrimonious battle now being waged between the proponents of public school education and those of private school education about how our tax money should be spent in the great enterprise of education.

have pioneered new products, technologies, or services have been the most successful in promoting economic growth.

The black community, if it is to survive and prosper with relative autonomy, must have a sound economic base. One way that this can be achieved is by the creation and maintenance of large and profitable black businesses, cooperatively owned and operated. Such businesses would not be limited to the black consumer market but would have significant shares of national and international markets. Concurrently, these firms would compete successfully with white businesses for black customers and consumers. Black entrepreneurs must have these goals or continue to be condemned to insignificance.

What directions should black enterprise take? First, black entrepreneurs should move away from their traditional emphasis on retail and service enterprises limited to the black community. While these activities are important and should be performed by blacks, they do not provide the growth the community needs for its economic security. New black businessmen should look to new and high technology fields since these areas promise the most future growth. Microprocessors, home computers, and video technology have been high growth areas lately. They are also brand-new, not having existed ten years earlier. Had black entrepreneurs foreseen the growth in computer science and invested in those in the black community familiar with such technology, it is possible that today a black-owned firm or two might be competing with Apple or Atari. Still, there are opportunities. Solar energy, bioengineering, cable and microwave communications, among other fields, are still wide open. Would-be black businessmen should look to these areas, which if successfully exploited, can provide markets, income and profits large enough to provide thousands of jobs and millions, if not billions, of dollars of income flowing into the black community.

As for initial investment, blacks must continue to pressure the federal government for a fair share of small business loans, contracts, subcontracts, and other aid. Besides the government, however, black entrepreneurs should also look to the black community for venture capital. Since bank loans and credit will still be hard to obtain, non-traditional sources should be tapped. Among these are the black church, black fraternal and social organizations, and black entertainers and athletes. All of these groups possess surplus funds which, rather than used for consumption as they are used now, can be used for productive investment. Black firms should be more interested in selling stock to raise capital than they are now. This approach worked for Marcus Garvey.

Black entrepreneurs must be accountable to the community if they are to contribute to its overall development. Ideally, black firms should be cooperatively owned and operated with the profits used in part to develop black social institutions such as schools, hospitals, etc. In any event, the profits of these enterprises should not go exclusively back to their owners but should be put to the use of the entire community.

Finally, the grip that corporate power has on the American economy must be broken. New or small businesses, black or white, are constantly threatened with takeover or destruction by giant multinational corporations. These firms have resources and market power large enough to make it difficult to impossible for any small or new business to prosper. The black community, if it is truly interested in developing an autonomous economic base, must concern itself with limiting or destroying corporate power. If we do not, our community-owned infant businesses will be strangled in the cradle.

* * *

Hayward Farrar is with the history department at Fisk University. This article was written for the Fisk University Black Economic Roundtable.

THE ADA

EUGENE McCARTHY

Black enterprise

HAYWARD FARRAR

Over the past fifteen years, black entrepreneurs, in league with other black leaders, have dealt with the problem of capital accumulation and market acquisition by obtaining federal aid. Through programs sponsored by the Small Business Administration and through other "black capitalism" initiatives, black entrepreneurs have obtained federally guaranteed loans, shares of federal contracts, and federal subcontracts. That these strategies have been none too successful is shown by the fact that in 1983 black businesses are still an insignificant part of the overall economy.

There are many reasons for this situation. First, the black community has never amassed enough capital for large scale investment. The aid provided to black businesses during the late 1960's and 1970's was not sufficient to make up for this deficiency. Second, the black community has neither been large enough nor prosperous enough to provide black firms with the large-scale income and profits enjoyed by their white counterparts. Third, white firms, with greater resources and markets protected by racism from black firms, have undercut black businesses in the black community—when not driving them out altogether. One example of this is in popular music. Giant recording firms like Columbia, Epic, Warner Bros. and RCA now dominate the black record-buying market. Ironically they are doing this with stars like Marvin Gay, Diana Ross, and Michael Jackson, who were initially discovered by Motown, the leading black recording company. Finally black businesses have rarely, if ever, been "growth enterprises." Service and retail firms, which have been the vast majority of black businesses, have rarely been at the forefront of economic growth. Those businesses that

Americans for Democratic Action has long been a good organization to belong to. It had the words American and Democratic in its name. Its three letters, ADA, did not lend themselves to use as an acronym. Unexplained, they might indicate safe organizations like the American Dental Association which never got into as much trouble as the AMA, the American Medical Association, which drew the attention of President Carter, when he said that individual doctors were fine persons and professionals, but as organized in the medical society they were something else. He never said anything like that about either individual dentists or organized dentists. The most critical thing ever written about dentists was the poet Robert Bly's observation that "Dentists water their lawns even when it is raining."

ADA might also stand for the American Dairymen's Association, a reputable organization, despite its brush with John Connally during the Nixon Administration.

The real, original, political ADA got its start in the late forties, and ran on strongly into the fifties, as a liberal organization set up to protect the country from communist influence and the liberals from being confused with communists or fellow travellers. It accomplished its mission so thoroughly and successfully that by the sixties it moved to higher ground, and as an adjunct to the Democratic Party helped repel the conservatives and the Republicans for the better part of a decade, including noble service in opposing the war in Vietnam.

In the seventies, however, the ADA fell into the reform trap, along with Common Cause, the League of Women Voters and other organizations. ADA was in this situation a little like the March of Dimes, which, after the major cure for polio was discovered, found itself at a loss and went searching for other diseases and disorders. It was never the same

again. So with ADA when it got into reform, always a dangerous venture for liberals, as they should know from their support of the introduction of the guillotine as a substitute for the executioner and his axe on the grounds that it was more humane. It was, but it was also more efficient.

In any case, in the seventies, caught up in reform, ADA supported such things as the Federal Election Reform Act, the re-organization of Congress, codes of ethics for the House of Representatives and for the Senate, legislation to control lobbying, etc. until finally it came, I discovered at Christmas of last year, acting through its Consumer Affairs Committee, to making a study of toys. The study was not a simple one. It covered price and quality of toys, safety and the psychological effects of some toys. Actually, ADA had come to making this kind of study eleven years ago, but I did not discover its report until this year.

Its price reports were about what one might find in any consumer study. Prices of toys vary from store to store, and FAO Schwarz charges more than any other store, something known for a long time.

The quality and safety research turned up more interesting results. Un-hinged toy-boxes were found most dangerous. The toy that broke the quickest was an oil derrick-refinery play set. While dangerous, the breakable toy may have been highly educational, as recent reports show that oil drillers and some refiners have had a short period of prosperity followed by distress.

The most ridiculous doll, ADA determined, was a Bye Bye Diapers doll. The particular complaint of the ADA researchers was that the doll not only leaked at the proper place, but also at the neck. I did not check out the doll, but I have changed babies that were wet from the neck down.

The psychological judgments on frustrating toys

were too much for me. I could only conclude that ADA has some subtle purpose that I do not fully understand. Possible it has given up on politics and education as a way to reform society and has taken up more clever ways in the manner of Andrew Fletcher, who in 1703 said, "Let me make a nation's songs. I care not who makes its laws." The head of the ADA now is Father Drinan, a Jesuit. Some Jesuit, or some Jesuits, hold(s) to this belief: "Give me a child until it is seven, and I, or we, will have determined its character for life." The new ADA slogan may well be, "Let me make a nation's toys; I care not who makes its laws."

PEOPLE'S STATE OF THE UNION

ROOSEVELT JONES

As President Reagan was preparing to deliver his State of the Union address, a group of 300 people, organized by the Community for Creative Non-Violence, gathered on the steps of the Capitol to protest administration policies and to hear 49-year-old Roosevelt Jones, an itinerant who sleeps in a garage and eats in soup kitchens deliver a "People's State of the Union Address." Here are excerpts:

Fifty years ago, in 1933, another man named Roosevelt looked out across this nation and saw a land filled with pain and deprivation.

- He saw massive unemployment, just as we see today.
- He saw small businesses floundering and failing, after years of back-breaking effort, just as we see today.
- He saw farmers losing their land and their livelihood, just as we see today.
- He saw millions of hungry, homeless Americans—afraid and adrift, criss-crossing the land in search of work—just as we see today.

As I look across America, and as I look at my own life, what I have seen and experienced is not too different.

- I see nearly 20 million people out of work or underemployed.
- I see men, women, and children forced to eat out of trash bins, forced to seek shelter in cardboard boxes.
- I see a nation racked by pain and suffering, a nation where hard-working and faithful citizens are filled with failure, guilt, and shame, because their lives and their pride are in shreds.
- I see the misuse of the wealth of the world's richest nation: hundreds of millions of dollars are tossed down the military rat-hole, while Americans are crushed under the weight of misguided policies.
- I see the rich getting richer and turning their backs on the poor, who are sentenced to lives of permanent and invisible misery.
- I see black America now being held at arm's length from our goals of equal rights and opportunities.

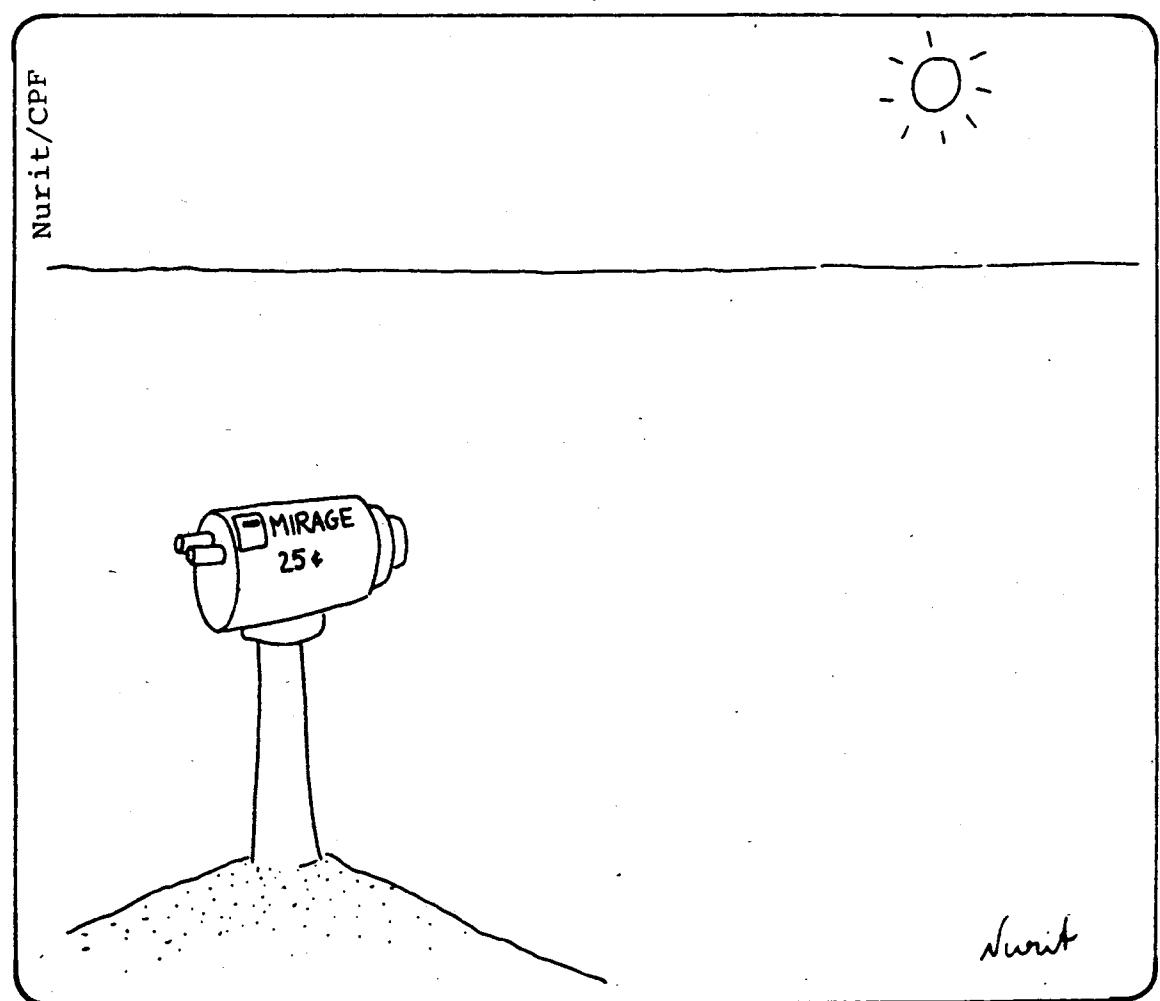
Do I see all of this because I am especially bright or observant? No, I see it because it is happening to me and to those around me.

I am unemployed. I sleep in a garage. I eat at a soup kitchen. I know—firsthand and in my own flesh—the true State of the Union.

- Millions of us are homeless.
- Millions are out of work, out of hope, and out of choices. *That* is the State of the Union.
- Millions of Americans are groaning under the weight of economic adversity. *That* is the State of the Union.

* * *

Nurit/CPF



As I look out across America, I see one-fifth of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. *That* is the State of the Union, and, as God is my witness, I know that it will not continue unchallenged or unchecked.

As I look at America, I think the true fulfillment of our spirit, of our people, of our mighty and immortal land, is yet to come. I think the true discovery of our own democracy is still before us.

But I think the enemy is here before us, too—an enemy that cannot be fought or conquered with weapons of war or military might. The enemy is selfishness and compulsive greed, sanctified as policy and program.

The decay spreads over the land, and the sweet smell is a great sorrow. In the eyes of the people there is failure, and in the eyes of the hungry, there

is a growing wrath. In the souls of the people, the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, growing heavy for the vintage.

People are suffering all across this nation, and some ask why there has been no outcry, no reaction. In answer, I say this: just before the massive and violent eruptions of Mt. St. Helena, a strange and complete silence prevailed. Nature came to a halt; even the birds ceased their songs. We know the ferocity of the explosion that followed, and just as surely, we know that, in this pain-wracked body of America—where the young and old, women and people of color, workers and dreamers even now seethe in anger and frustration, we must learn from the silence, or we must suffer the consequences of our ignorance and our blindness.

CHARLES McDOWELL

THE BLIZZARD OF '83

There were warnings early in the week that a mighty snowstorm was on the way, but most of us took the warnings casually. The forecasters are forever warning us that the sky is about to fall, and even the weatherpersons' colleagues on the television news scoff at these dire predictions. The mighty snowstorms tend to veer off to Boston or Detroit, and then the weatherpersons come on and tell us it was a very close call.

If political reporters were so often wrong in their predictions, they would be chased up trees and hooted at by the populace.

When the snow did begin to fall, and continued all night Thursday, a great and unnatural calm settled over the Washington area. We panic at small things, three or four flaps a week in the best of times. But when something big actually happens, such as a blizzard, we get mixed up and react in dull ways.

On Friday morning, the snow was falling like the curtain at the end of the world. And the radio was saying in a kind of stern-parent voice that federal employees were expected to go to work. The government would understand if you were a little late, but this would be just another day of service to the taxpayers.

So tens of thousands of federal employees got into their cars and skidded off into the murk. The subway was running, more or less, and some buses, too, all pretty well loaded with loyal federal sheep. A lot of automobiles spun out into snowdrifts on bridges and expressway ramps. When I drove in from Alexandria at midmorning, I had to dodge dozens of abandoned cars.

Once the summoned workers got to work, the government told them to go home at once. Through the middle of the day on Friday, there were sluggish, stalling, steaming parades of automobiles going both ways on the major roads. Occasionally somebody driving tardily toward the office would try to turn around and go home, and the drifts were deep enough by now in the turnaround places to bog down most such original thinkers.

It was just terrible. We have to assume the crucial people were at their crucial posts in the secret rooms of the Pentagon, but my hunch is we would rather not know.

On Friday afternoon, I undertook to drive to WETA, in the Virginia suburbs, to be an emergency substitute panelist on "Washington Week in Review." A couple of the scheduled reporters were

socked in and the program would have to deviate from its tradition that all the panelists should know what they are talking about. With a Swedish car, new American "all-season snow tires" (whatever that means), and a lot of luck on backroads, I made the 10-minute drive in an hour and a half.

The correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor made it from the Maryland suburbs in several hours, having thought to bring along a shovel and his wife to wield it. The correspondent of the New York Times rode the subway as far as it went and then somehow flagged a four-wheel-drive vehicle. The correspondent of The Baltimore Sun

walked from the Pentagon down Interstate 395 to the television station at Shirlington, a distance of maybe three miles, and in the continuing blizzard.

Arrangements had been made for everyone to stay in a nearby motel after the program. But, confident of the Swedish car and American tires, I set out for home. Ramps were jammed with disabled cars. The drifts were huge. Vision was almost impossible. I had awful adventures. Eventually, somehow, I fell in behind a snowplow and followed wherever it went.

It went on a 40-mile tour of the fascinating network of Virginia highways around the Pentagon. I

never saw an open ramp that would have headed me toward Alexandria. I passed Arlington National Cemetery seven times. Finally I abandoned the snowplow, slid sideways down a ramp onto I-395 bound for Richmond, rocketed off that road onto what might have been a ramp, dodged a stalled bus and came to rest buried in a snowbank at an unfamiliar intersection in Arlington. Across the street was the motel where a room was still reserved for me, and my colleagues were just beginning dinner and a thoughtful discussion on how great everyone had been on the program.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

CHURCHES AS PRISONS

MARY JO McCONAHAY

CHICAGO—When does a sanctuary become a prison?

That question is haunting religious and community agencies around the country which have gradually become contract jailers for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the past three years.

Prompted initially by concern over the treatment of refugees awaiting deportation in criminal jails, these agencies have increasingly accepted responsibility for INS detainees in their own shelters. In the process, community facilities long identified with sanctuary and safety have become an integral part of the INS deportation machinery.

The surprising partnership with INS has another twist: Many of the participating shelters justify their holding-tank role by pointing out that the money they make on it supports their other programs—for battered women, drug addicts, alcoholics and the homeless.

At the House of the Good Shepherd, a Roman Catholic institution here in Chicago, for example, all the income from eight beds now set aside for INS goes to support a shelter for abused women and their children, where 55 persons are currently being cared for. As regards the use of her facility for INS detainees, "It is better than jail," says the administrator Sister Mary Lourdes. "I think we can give them a little bit of Christian charity."

Detainees at Good Shepherd are supplied with a pair of slippers, a robe and two towels neatly placed on each bed. Usually evenings are quiet, with a small radio or television for entertainment. Hot breakfasts are served in the morning.

At other shelters, staff members may see to it that special diets are provided for, or make a trip at night to buy diapers. But in the end, remarks Lou De Sitter, of the Los Angeles refugee advocacy group El Rescate, the shelters are "jails with carpets."

Indeed, security precautions are obvious around shelters which double as INS holding units. In San Diego, the Salvation Army's Door of Hope facility is located inside a fenced perimeter. Doors are locked from the outside at Victory Outreach, a Laredo, Texas, shelter funded by various local churches, and the staff keeps close watch on detainees. "We've had them escape a few times," says Good Shepherd's Sister Lourdes, "usually when staff forgot to lock the door."

Although the INS has its own facilities for men, detained women have generally been held in public jails alongside women charged with criminal offenses. Moreover, they have often been separated from their children. "We were seeking a better environment than a jail facility," according to Cliff Rogers, chief of the INS deportation section in San Diego. "That was the only premise under which we sought these contracts (with shelters)."

Adds Rogers: "There aren't that many jail facilities, either. We couldn't take all of these people and put them in jail."

Thus, what some religious activists regard as a pattern of moral blackmail accelerated: Many say that the INS uses the obligations they feel toward refugees and undocumented aliens as a lever, to prod them into making their shelters available for detention purposes. As one nun in Los Angeles put it, she was reluctant to cooperate with the request

of a local INS office until "they showed us the jails, how the women were living overcrowded in a place like a stockade. We know we couldn't let people live that way."

"We are providing a humane service that keeps people from being in an excessively policed situation for no other crime than having come here to provide for themselves and their families," said Father Doug Regin of the Catholic Community Services of San Diego. CCS oversees two shelters in converted convents for housing INS detainees. "The INS see themselves in a policing role; they couldn't render the human services. Whereas it's our whole reason for being."

Occasionally a caretaker will "learn fast not to get involved" in the personal history of her charges, observes Isabel Garza of Laredo's Victory Outreach. Garza says she believes that hunger produced the economic refugees, and that some of the Salvadoran women may meet death when they are sent home. "It was a burden for me at first. But being a Christian, now I tell the women, 'God has a way to help you if you return; trust Him.'"

Garza adds that she feels sufficiently funded by the churches and would prefer not to be paid for housing detainees, but the INS requires her to accept money. Father Regin, however, speaks for most participating shelters when he says, "We

wouldn't be doing the things we are doing if it were not a funded program."

Religious activists have been in the vanguard of opposition to Washington's policy of refusing political asylum to Central American refugees. For such people, the choice between leaving these women and children in jail, or cooperating with the INS which is trying to deport them, is a deeply troubling one.

"Why don't you discriminate? Why not tell INS you refuse to detain anyone who is being shipped back for execution in Central America?" asks Chicago Religious Task Force member Dan Dale, who deplores the Good Shepherd-INS connection.

Father Frank Riley, who works with indigent immigrants in the San Diego area and is a regular visitor to the Door of Hope, likens the situation to military or prison chaplaincy: "I'm afraid it looks like an implicit blessing; but you do have to touch base with them, even though you want to clearly advocate against their activities."

Recently, says Riley, because of the pressure of numbers the INS has suggested that it may be too expensive to house refugees in private shelters. Riley—who has serious personal reservations about the church and social agencies' collaboration with INS—thus finds himself arguing their side, fighting to keep the women and children out of jails.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL

DAVID ARMSTRONG

The first time I saw an Indian reservation, I couldn't imagine why anyone would want to live there. The place was filled with rusting, junked cars, scrawny dogs, barely-paved roads and Jerry-built houses that seemed little more than shacks. After I spent some time on the reservation—I was covering a long-running story for a local weekly—I learned it was a more complicated, and more important, place than I had first believed.

I discovered, among other things, that the Iroquois Indians in that neck of the woods had a remarkable degree of self-government; it was their elected tribal council, not outside police, who had jurisdiction over crimes committed on Indian land. Reservation residents also had far-reaching hunting and fishing rights; they didn't need state licenses for their catch—which, as I also learned, formed a hefty portion of the diets of low-income people there.

Moreover, I saw that the Native American's fabled love of the land wasn't just a romantic myth. The tribal land base provided a place where the old-time religion and Indian language—the glue of their ancient society—could endure in the teeth of the global monoculture. Although I arrived believ-

ing that the reservation was a prison, I left understanding that it was a refuge, too.

That encounter with a society-within-a-society occurred more than 10 years ago. I was reminded of it recently, when Interior Secretary James Watt blasted the reservation system. Watt pinned the misery and poverty of Native Americans on "the failure of socialism"—by which he meant the paternalistic reservation system administered by the federal government.

A look at the economics of the situation shows a lot about Watt's sudden concern for the Indians. After generations of encroachment, there are still more than 400 Indian reservations in the United States. Together with land being transferred to native control in Alaska, and other territory under dispute in the courts, Indian country covers about five percent of the surface land area of the U.S. Under that land lies 10 percent of America's coal and oil and 15 percent of its uranium. Timberland, land for grazing and valuable water reserves are also concentrated on Indian reservations. It is this natural wealth that Watt would like to liberate Native Americans from.

Such desires have been expressed before by federal officials, always with disastrous results for native people. In 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act, allowing individual Indians to sell tribal land that had always been held in common and subjecting their land to state taxation. Many Indians, often illiterate in English, lost their property after puzzling over the tax collector's notices. Others, with no idea what their holdings were worth in white people's money, sold it for absurdly low prices. Nearly two-thirds of all Indian territory was lost under that legislation.

In the 1950s, after announcing solicitously that Indians would benefit by being integrated into American society, Congress terminated several reservations entirely. Tribes such as the Menominees of Wisconsin lost their lands with a stroke of the pen—and with them, much of their collective identity and their self-respect. For Native Americans, who have lived under a type of utopian socialism when left alone, being thrust unprepared into an intensely competitive marketplace economy nearly proved genocidal.

The termination policy was abandoned in the early 1970s—the Menominees even got their land back—but Watt's remarks, coupled with the Reagan administration's rapacious development schemes, seemed calculated to trigger yet another assault on Indian land and culture. As in the past, this attack will be disguised as progress, with the benefits of uncontrolled private enterprise extolled and the dangers of "socialism" decried.

Watt publicly apologized to the National Congress of American Indians after the controversy generated by his remarks, smoothly explaining that "I want something to happen in Indian country, I want to solve problems." Watt wants something to happen, alright, but the problems he wants to solve are those of multinational corporations just hankering to jump those Indian land claims. With friends like Watt, Native Americans, as the saying goes, don't need enemies.



ARTHUR HOPPE

JOY IN EL SALVADOR

Our State Department, which is always looking on the bright side, says only 2628 Salvadoran citizens were murdered by their government last year. (The U.N. glumly puts the figure at twice that and says torture of political prisoners is rampant, but what do they know?)

Anyway, the State Department says this is sure an improvement in human rights and we should reward our loyal ally with a hundred million dollars or so. But Congress, which refuses to look on the bright side, is balking.

The problem, as usual with this administration, is the press. We ace newsmen go down there and whom do we talk to? Survivors, next of kin, and all those kinds of Gloomy Guses. What of the thousands of Salvadorans who have *not* been shot, jailed or tortured by their government? How do they feel?

To answer that question, here is an exclusive interview with just such a typical Salvadoran, Manuel Name-Withheld-or-They'll-Kill-Me.

Q—Tell me, Mr. Name-Withheld, how does it feel not to be shot, jailed or tortured?

A—Wonderful! Marvelous! I know I speak for thousands of my countrymen when I tell the Missus each morning, "Oh, it's great to be alive!"

Q—And what does she say?

A—She says things like, "Just think, today is the first day of the rest of our lives."

Q—You find that encouraging?

A—No, I say, "Shut up, you're making me nervous."

Q—But are conditions improving?

A—Oh, you bet. It's getting easier every day to find a parking place or a seat on the bus.

Q—Yes, but what about human rights, such as free speech? Can you publicly criticize the government, for example?

A—Oh, sure! Just yesterday, my neighbor, Pedro Jimenez, stood right up to a dozen armed soldiers and told them he thought the government was a bunch of no-good Fascist cuckoo-eyed baboons.

Q—What incredible courage! You mean he looked them right in the eye and . . .

A—Who knows? He was blindfolded.

Q—I see. As for freedom of the press, can you read what you want?

A—Certainly. For three years I have been reading *The Secret of Longevity* by our great right-wing leader, Roberto d'Aubuisson.

Q—Sounds intriguing. What's the secret?

A—Reading *The Secret of Longevity* by our great right-wing leader, Roberto d'Aubuisson.

Q—I can see why you'd want to read that. The U.N. says the government tortures political prisoners. Is that true?

A—Absolutely not. Forty-three of my closest friends have disappeared and I have not heard a single complaint from a single one of them.

Q—You deny the government inflicts cruel and unusual punishment, such as employing whips, electrodes and whatnot?

A—Certainly. What's unusual about that?

Q—Then the United States should continue supplying your government with military aid?

A—Of course! For us innocent civilians to fall into the hands of the rebels would be a fate worse than death.

Q—How can you be so sure of that?

A—Because those rebels—God help us all!—don't have a human rights program approved by the United States government.

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LIFE & RELATED SUBJECTS

DAVE BARRY

One of these days when the Supreme Court has a few spare moments, it ought to look at the Constitution to see if there's some legal way we can ban Smurfs and throw whoever invented them in jail for eight or nine consecutive life sentences.

For the benefit of those of you who have been in comas, I should explain that Smurfs are little blue creatures that have sprung up all over the land, very much like herpes virus, except that people don't put herpes virus on T-shirts and toys and dolls and every other possible commercial surface and try to get you to buy them.

Now I have to admit that Smurfs are cute. The reason I have to admit this is that if I don't, highly paid lawyers of the Smurf Industrial Development Group will haul me into court and produce reams of computer printouts proving that Smurfs are cute, and the jury will convict me of making untrue remarks about a licensed commercial character. So I am on record here as stating that Smurfs are exceedingly cute. But I am getting mighty sick of cute.

I first noticed this with "Peanuts," an enterprise that began as a very cute comic strip and is now much larger than all but a handful of nations. I suspect it's a violation of federal law to say this, but I'm tired of being unable to wave my arms in a public place without striking some product shaped like Snoopy, or to turn on the television without seeing a wistfully cute half-hour cartoon special with a title like "You're A Jerk, Charlie Brown," wherein the big joke is that Lucy pulls the football away and Charlie Brown

falls down, which has also been the big joke in all the other "Peanuts" specials dating back to the Truman administration.

Anyway, I have a two-year-old son, so naturally our house contains dozens of Snoopy-shaped products. There is no way to avoid this. Modern children emerge from the womb clutching Snoopy-shaped products. But I intended to draw the line at Smurfs. This is why I was appalled recently to find my son carrying around a little plastic Smurf object that walks when you wind it up. At least it used to walk when you wound it up, but that was before I showed my son a fun game wherein you put the Smurf on the tracks of your electronic race-car set and have it walk along in a carefree manner saying "Ha ha ha. I'm just walking along, and those cars can't get ARGHHHH!"

I realize that some of you, particularly the ones who took a lot of smarmy courses in child psychology, are going to complain that it is unhealthy to encourage a two-year-old to drive electronic cars into a Smurf at upwards of 200 scale miles an hour. You would probably also object to another game of ours wherein you hold your Smurf upside down in your milkshake until it agrees to behave. I realize these are strong measures. But strong measures are what we need. If we don't draw the line at Smurfs, somebody is going to come up with something even cuter.

It may already be too late. The American Greetings Corporation has announced plans to dump an enormous load of cuteness on us in the form of The Care Bears,

which, according to the American Greetings Corporation, are "a family of 10 individual bears each representing a human emotion." I swear I am not making this up. You have Cheer Bear, Friend Bear, Tenderheart Bear, Birthday Bear, Grumpy Bear, Bedtime Bear, Funshine Bear, Good Luck Bear, Wish Bear and Love-A-Lot Bear. Missing, I notice, are Profit Bear and Rip Your Throat Out With One Swipe of Its Paw If You Get Near Its Young Bear, but I'm sure the folks at American Greetings know what they're doing, because they're the ones who gave us Strawberry Shortcake, a character who has accounted for \$500 million in retail sales and is so cute she makes the Smurfs look like the Manson gang.

I've been thinking that maybe I'm being a little shortsighted, complaining about all this cuteness. I've been playing around with an idea for a profitable commercial character of my own, named Bingo the Leech. He'd have big, cute eyes, and some kind of sucker apparatus so he could attach himself to boys and girls as they walked by in toy stores, and parents would have to buy him or have their children face shoplifting charges. I'd have Bingo the Leech T-shirts, Bingo the Leech toothbrushes, Bingo the Leech nasal spray, etc. What do you think? If you like the idea, send me some money and an envelope addressed to you, and if I ever develop any of these products I'll try to remember to send some to you, if any of them fit in your envelope.

PRODUCTIVITY: According to Hizoner, the city used 88 pieces of its own equipment and 125 contract vehicles on 1200 miles of city streets during the last month's blizzard. It comes to 5.6 miles cleared per vehicle. If these vehicles had done their work at an average speed of 1200 feet per hour, all the city's streets could have been cleared in 24 hours. The mayor says he thinks the city did a good job in clearing the streets. The really frightening thing about his opinion is that it may represent the productivity standard he applies elsewhere in the DC government. The failure of Barry & Co. to get the streets cleared without the assistance of a warm spell four days after the storm began should be considered a scandal. The fact that we have come to accept such things as part of the natural ecology of the urban environment may explain why nothing else is working right either.

TENTATIVE ANNOUNCEMENTS: Dennis Sosbin, local czar of the swingers and a candidate last year for mayor, has announced he is running for the at-large school board seat next fall. Unfortunately, it is not entirely clear at this point that there will be an election next fall, what with the city council thinking about postponing the campaign to give the board of elections time to straighten out its affairs. The cavalier attitude of some councilmembers towards the regular exercise of democracy is all the more remarkable because of the argument being heard in some quarters that cancelling the election "will save the city money." Were it not for the added costs of funding the imperial mansion and household, making Marion Barry a caliph and abolishing the city council might have the same salutary economic effect. The suggestion lends credence to a thesis I offered some time back in another publication -- namely that there are no longer governments, only budget offices. Also held hostage to the council decision on the fall election question is the Rhodes Tavern issue. The advocates of preserving the city's oldest downtown commercial establishment submitted over 25,000 signatures last month to the board of elections for an initiative that would make the saving of the tavern official city policy.

HACK FLACKS: The Barry administration has put out for bid a \$50,000 contract for a "Taxi Driver Awareness Program." The idea is to get taxicab drivers more positively involved in the problems and interests of tourists. This is admirable, but listen first to Emily Durso, acting assistant for legislative affairs for business and economic development:

"The purpose of the program is to promote the theme "Washington is a Capital City" using the taxicab industry as a tourism campaign effort. One idea is to distribute a monthly newsletter or flyer to all taxi drivers in the District, listing all the conventions coming to town. [Another idea] would include a training session for taxi drivers to serve tourist and local customers."



SAM SMITH

Once again as the city tries to promote itself, it is displaying its fatal fascination with hokery as a substitute for service. The "Capital City" theme deserves about a C- in a freshman marketing course at AU, but the mayor and others act like it is the best thing since the convention center.

Speaking of which, one wonders what a cab driver is going do with a monthly newsletter "listing all the conventions coming to town." Surely the inter-convention traffic is not substantial except among politicians and journalists.

If the city spent less time and money on such trivia and more time on things like signing, facilities, and special bus service for tourists, we might not have to spend so much money trying to convince our visitors that it is "a capital city."

THE BURDEN OF BEN: Word from UDC is that even some of those who supported his selection as president of the university are getting tired of Benjamin Alexander. Tip-offs include the refusal of the trustees to grant Alexander authority to start doctoral programs and the trustees making some of his appointments only temporary. Don't be surprised to see Alexander disappear from UDC far faster than anyone had guessed.

CABLE TO NOWHERE: The DC Cable Design Commission asked last month for six more months to come up with a plan for the regulation of cable in the city. This is one instance in which tardiness may actually help. DC, which has lagged behind many major jurisdictions in dealing with the question, now has the opportunity to look at the matter in the light of recent technological and economic developments. Things to consider are:

- The rising cost of conventional cable installation and declining interest in bidding on urban franchise contracts.
- A less than impressive record of cable firms keeping commitments made to jurisdictions.
- Competition from satellite communications systems.
- New fiber optics high capacity transmission systems.

A symbol of the change in the times are the ads on TV for Super TV which boast that it is "cable-free."

One suggestion floated recently is that the C&P phone company could be given the franchise with programming rights leased to others.. This

would eliminate the duplication of fiber optics transmission lines, help keep the lid on phone costs, and still provide enough channels for us all to switch off when we got bored.

In any case, don't worry that you're missing something by not having cable. As Ross Corson wrote in a recent issue of the Progressive:

"A recent study by a Syracuse University researcher documented cable's failure to bring about significant change in the lives of Americans. The study concluded that cable subscribers do not watch television any more than those with only broadcast-equipped sets, do not watch more selectively, and do not watch with more enthusiasm. The researcher observed that disenchantment sets in among cable viewers as 'they find the reality is not as great as the perceived promise.'"

What true potential there is for cable seems to lie in the field of two-way communications. But with much of this interchange already taking place over the telephone (e.g. home computers hooked to various data centers), with phone companies moving into the high capacity fiber optics field, and with satellites bringing more and more entertainment with no cables at all, cable tv may turn out to be just a passing phase that somehow DC managed to miss.

FRONT BURNER

ELECTION FRAUD

As discussed in City Desk this month, there are a wealth of proposals pending before the city council that would restrict your franchise, including, but not limited to, cancelling this fall's election. This issue is not getting the attention it deserves and considerable pressure is needed at the council to change the current trend towards limiting the rights of voters.

COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

With considerable reluctance, the city planning office has agreed to provide the city council with a preliminary land use map which purportedly will show what the hell the comprehensive plan means. Councilmembers had threatened to hold up action on the plan unless they got such a map. This is a step forward, but community groups are advised to view any such document with the skepticism it deserves. The rule of thumb is: don't accept any promises from city planners unless they are notarized, witnessed and engraved in stone at Western Plaza. Even then, be careful.

THE HOMELESS

Six people have died of exposure this winter on DC streets, the city government is still dragging its heels on the matter, and there remain critical needs unfulfilled. Contacts for information and action include the Coalition for the Homeless, 1419 V St. NW #303, DC 20009. 328-1184.

THE GAZETTE CATALOG OF USEFUL & INTERESTING BOOKS



DC Books

1983 FACTORY OUTLET GUIDE TO DC, Maryland, Virginia and Delaware. Over 500 smart ways to save money by Jean Bird. \$3.95

THE FIRST WOMEN WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS. Tells the story of women who early broke the sex barrier to cover the capital city, beginning with Jane Grey Swisshelm who won a seat in the Senate Press Gallery in 1850 despite a warning from Vice President Fillmore that "the place would be very unpleasant for a lady." \$2.00

ANCIENT WASHINGTON: American Indian Cultures of the Potomac Valley. A rare and valuable anthropological look at the beginnings of Washington culture. \$3.00

LAW AND ORDER IN THE CAPITAL CITY: A History of the Washington Police 1800-1886. An interesting perspective on crime and police work of an earlier time. \$3.00

YESTERDAY'S WASHINGTON: A photographic history of our city that all lovers of DC will want to have. 20% off at \$7.95.

THIRTY-TWO PICTURE POST CARDS OF OLD WASHINGTON, DC. Ready to mail. Rare photos reproduced as post cards in sepia. A different way to stay in touch. \$2.75.

CAPITAL CAPITAL: Sam Smith tells the story of non-federal Washington. "Not only well worth reading, but it is the best book we are likely to read on Washington," Bryce Nelson of the LA Times. "An excellent gift," Bill Raspberry in the Washington Post. "Must Reading," Afro-American. "A joy to read," Robert Cassidy in the Chicago Tribune.

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BOSS SHEPHERD AND THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS. The fascinating tale of DC's only true political boss and perhaps the most controversial figure in local history. \$3.

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GENTRIFICATION IN ADAMS MORGAN: Political and Commercial Consequences of Neighborhood Change. Going behind the cliches to actually what happens in gentrification, author Jeffrey Henig has presented an important addition to the study of this phenomenon. \$5.00

PUBLIC STREET ILLUMINATION IN WASHINGTON DC: An Illustrated History. Any Washington buff will enjoy this book that tells the fascinating story of these mundane objects — the street lamps. \$3.50.

OLD WASHINGTON, DC, IN EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS: 1846-1932. This is a truly fine collection of over 200 prints that provide an enduring record of this city. \$7.95.

SECRET CITY: Constance Green's history of black Washington. A highly readable trip through the city's black past. \$7.95

JOHN WEBBISON'S MAP OF WASHINGTON: Done in Web's wry and pointed style, this map was drawn for the Bicentennial and is now available for 40% off at \$1.50.

WASHINGTON: Constance Green's Pulitzer Prize-winning comprehensive history of Washington is now available in paperback for only \$9.50. The basic book of DC history.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR WASHINGTON STUDIES AND DESCRIPTION OF MAJOR LOCAL COLLECTIONS: This is a revised and enlarged edition of an outstanding bibliography of Washington materials that has been out of print for several years. It has been compiled and annotated by Perry G. Fisher of the Columbia Historical Society and Linda J. Lear of George Washington University. There are nearly 350 entries in the new edition, as well as updated descriptions of the major local collections of Washingtoniana. \$6.

Maryland

CHESAPEAKE: James A. Michener. This is, of course, the book that was the first work of fiction in ten years to make it to the number one spot in the New York Times's best seller list. But its subject matter gives it even greater appeal to those in the Washington area. A fine novel and a way to learn more about our bay. \$3.95

BEAUTIFUL SWIMMERS: Watermen, Crabs and the Chesapeake Bay. William Warner's 1977 Pulitzer Prize winning study of the Chesapeake Bay and the watermen who work there and the crabs they catch. \$3.50

THE CHESAPEAKE BAY FISH AND FOWL COOKBOOK: A treasury of old and new recipes from Maryland's Eastern Shore, home of some of the most robust and distinctive cuisine to be found anywhere in the United States. \$14.95 is the list price but we're selling it for \$12.95

Sports

CHAMPIONSHIP RACQUETBALL: A complete guide to the sport featuring skills, strategy, conditioning and drills. Part of the West Point Sports/Fitness Series. \$4.95

Humor

THE I HATE PREPPIES HANDBOOK: A Guide for the Rest of Us. If you're tired of hearing about preppies this is the book for you. \$3.95

Books you always meant to read

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THE PORTABLE MARK TWAIN: Huckleberry Finn and the Mysterious Stranger complete. Selections from A Connecticut Yankee, Puddn'head Wilson, the Autobiography and other works. Letters, essays, and The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County. \$6.95

THE KORAN: A translation that retains the beauty of the original, altering the traditional arrangement to increase understanding. \$3.95

NICOLAS NICKLEBY by Charles Dickens: \$4.50.

ROBERT FROST'S POEMS: An anthology accompanied by an introduction and commentary by Louis Untermeyer \$3.95.

THE PORTABLE THOMAS JEFFERSON: Includes "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" and "Notes on the State of Virginia." Also the Declaration of Independence, draft constitution for Virginia, opinion on the constitutionality of a national bank, first inaugural address and letters to George Washington, James Madison, John Adams, John Jay and others. \$6.95.

THE BIG SLEEP: Raymond Chandler's famous story about detective Philip Marlowe, who finds himself hired by an eccentric, paralyzed California millionaire in a case of blackmail, but gets involved in something even more ugly. \$2.95

THE PORTABLE WALT WHITMAN: Selections from "Leaves of Grass," "Democratic Vistas," "Specimain Days." Chronology and bibliographical checklist by Gay Wilson Allen. The New Yorker calls it "the best and most representative one-volume edition of Whitman ever put together." \$6.95

THE PORTABLE JUNG: In making this selection from the vast body of Carl Jung's writings, Joseph Campbell has aimed to introduce the elementary terms and themes of analytical psychology, provide an overall understanding of the scope and direction of Jung's works and enable readers to grasp the bearing of mythic lore upon their own psyches. \$6.95.

THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA: Ernest Hemingway's tragic yet triumphant story of an old Cuban fisherman and his supreme ordeal -- a relentless, agonizing battle with a giant marlin out in the Gulf Stream. \$2.50

THE PORTABLE OSCAR WILDE: The complete novel "The Picture of Dorian Gray;" prison memoirs complete and unexpurgated; two complete plays, "Salome" and "The Importance of Being Earnest;" Selections from three major comedies; letters, reviews; poems; "Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young." \$6.95.

THE STORIES OF JOHN CHEEVER \$3.50

HOMER: THE ODYSSEY. 2.25

JOHN UPDIKE: RABBIT IS RICH \$3.95

BARBARA CHASE-RIBOUD: SALLY HEMMINGS \$2.75

JANE AUSTEN: PRIDE AND PREJUDICE \$1.50

ERICA JONG: FEAR OF FLYING \$3.50

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GEORGE ORWELL: ANIMAL FARM \$1.95

FOR CHILDREN

THE TALE OF PETER RABBIT: \$1.25

JAMES AND THE GIANT PEACH: \$2.75

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RICHARD SCARRY'S FUNNIEST STORYBOOK EVER; \$4.95

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THE GREAT AMERICAN BOOK OF SIDEWALK, STOOP, DIRT, CURB AND ALLEY GAMES: 60 of the best games that all kids should know how to play. A classic collection. Fun for adults too. \$3.95 now only ~~\$2.95~~ \$1.00

THE SOLAR HOME BOOK: A guide to solar energy uses in housing. Was \$7.50 now ~~\$3.00~~ \$1.00

COUNTRY INNS OF AMERICA: UPPER NEW ENGLAND

COUNTRY INNS OF AMERICA: LOWER NEW ENGLAND

Each one of these beautifully illustrated guides contains descriptions of more than 40 country inns and over 100 color photographs. \$6.95 cash. \$1.00

NON-PRESCRIPTION DRUGS AND THEIR SIDE-EFFECTS: a complete family guide to more than 500 of the most frequently purchased over-the-counter medications -- their positive uses and their potential dangers -- as described by government agencies, pharmaceutical associations and the manufacturers. \$4.95 ~~4.95~~ \$1.00

A LEGAL GUIDE FOR LESBIAN AND GAY COUPLES: This practical book covers all the important legal aspects of living and working together as a gay/lesbian couple. Straight-forward information explains the legal options and alternatives of child custody and visitation rights, relating to former spouses, foster children and adoption, buying and selling houses, transferring deeds, moving on, dividing property, living-together agreements, and planning for death. \$10.95 ~~10.95~~ \$1.00

THE DEATH AND LIFE OF MALCOLM X: By Peter Goldman. For this second edition of a major work on one of the most important black leaders of this century, the author, a senior editor of Newsweek, has added a substantial epilogue which argues convincingly that three of the five accomplices in Malcolm X's assassination in 1965 are still free, while a fourth is serving a short sentence for an unrelated offense. Meanwhile, despite the efforts of William Kunstler and others, two men who are probably innocent remain in prison "wasted like pawns sacrificed in somebody else's wild chess game," as one of them puts it. \$7.95 ~~7.95~~ \$1.00

DC MAGAZINES: A LITERARY RETROSPECTIVE. This work contains an anthology of pieces from three of Washington's most important literary magazines: Portfolio, Voyages and Dryad. Editor Richard Peabody has also included a listing of literary magazines published here from the 18th century on and a list of alternative newspapers and arts magazines published since the sixties. Was \$7.95, now only \$6.00.

Travel

COUNTRY NEW ENGLAND INNS: This is a 1982-1983 edition not-to-be confused with a similar book listed in our sale catalog. This one is much more complete and includes maps and rates and illustrations. \$5.95

COUNTRY INNS LODGES AND HISTORIC HOTELS OF THE MID ATLANTIC STATES: Descriptions, rates and illustrations. \$5.95

Report Card

BARRY CURRÉ CRAWFORD JARVIS KANE MOORE RAY Shuler Smith Spaulding Wilson Winter

- | | | |
|---|-----|-------------------|
| 1. Opposed Metro plan to institute a five cent bus transfer fee (+) | - | ++ |
| 2. Sponsored a bill cancelling 1983 elections (-) | - | - - |
| 3. Opposed delay in effective date of no-fault insurance (+) | - | - - + - - + - - + |
| 4. Supported increased funding of schools over council budget (+) | + + | |

The report card is based on our current information as to positions and actions taken by the mayor and city council on various issues. Additions and corrections should be sent or called to the Gazette, 232-5544.

POTOMAC FOG: While I enjoyed immensely following the block-by-block struggles of WTOP's news team as it maneuvered through the Blizzard of '83 to confirm that everyone was stuck everywhere, I did notice that two different reporters used "fotuitous" when they meant "fortunate." The former means only accidental or by chance.

WHAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT?: If city councilmembers, now that they have given Marion Barry 98% of what he wanted in his budget, would like to turn to serious consideration of the city's fiscal affairs, a good place to start would be in the field of "economic development," a catch-all category of government spending that includes everything from convention centers to housing funds to sweetheart contracts for campaign contributors. Since matters lumped under economic development include a variety of expenditures, some with merit and some with none, it is difficult to generalize, but it is significant that over the past ten years the three fastest growing categories of city spending have been debt service, transportation and economic development.

The city has finally put the lid on capital borrowing, although far too late, and there seems some nascent concern about the mismanagement and extravagance of transit activities. But we haven't even begun to talk about the possibility that the phrase "economic development" may often be, in fact, something quite to the contrary.

First some figures: The real indicator of economic growth, sales tax revenue, has only managed to rise faster than the rate of inflation since the mid-seventies thanks to a 20% increase in the tax rate a few years ago. Meanwhile, spending for "economic development" has mounted 300% faster than the tax base growth, compared to a 30% faster growth in so-called "run-away" costs of human services. Between 1975 and 1981 we spent \$356 million on economic development and, as part of the payoff, experienced a real decline in

the sales tax base. If we had merely, for example, kept up with inflation, we would be getting about \$40 million more in sales tax revenues. Instead we're spending \$100 million a year on "economic development" while the city's economy stagnates.

Admittedly, some of this economic development money has been spent for worthwhile and needed things, such as housing. But that points to the key problem with this category of spending: waste and non-productivity hide in a thicket of usefulness. A rough parallel can be found in the federal defense budget. At least in the case of defense, there are some legislators who are highly sceptical of Pentagon budgets. In the case of DC economic development, anything goes as long as it's for this noble cause.

But as the Bates Street experience suggests, not even all housing money is well spent and much other economic development money is clearly wasted on subsidization of large corporations and local campaign contributors.

In fact, based on the empirical evidence of economic results, it is likely that we would have been better off over the past decade if we had spent nothing on economic development (or planning for that matter), with the exception of housing.

Which is not to say that money can't be well spent in planning and development. But this city clearly does not know how to do it. Obsessed with physical development rather than economic development, DC has steadily eroded local employment and business opportunities of the sort that bring real money to the city treasury. By emphasizing office construction for a suburban workforce, the city has behaved in almost a masochistic fashion. Meanwhile, it is has become more and more difficult to run a small business in DC and without an adequate variety of shops and services in downtown, the large retailers are being hurt. Even where there are exceptions to the generally gloomy retail situation, such as Georgetown, the city's reaction is to make the same mistakes there it has made elsewhere.

When people talk about the city

saving money, issues like ~~them~~ are rarely raised, just as no politicians suggest that taking care of the needy is more important than extending the subway. But the fact is that there is a considerable pool of questionable spending by the city government that we could cut without anyone going hungry, homeless or without an adequate education. We won't find it, however, if no one even wants to talk about it.

WHAT THE BOARD OF TRADE WON'T TELL YOU: Thanks to the local media and merchants, everyone should be aware that shoplifters get caught. What they don't tell you is that at least half of all theft in the nation's retail operations is due to employees stealing from their firms. Woodies, for example, is paying workers \$500 in cash plus half the value of the merchandise in question, for turning in fellow employees.

PRIORITIES IN THE SUNSET: Elsewhere I refer to a recent city contract for \$50,000 to make taxicab drivers more "aware." Meanwhile, we hear from city hall that \$40,000 is too much money to spend on a special election for the citizens of Ward One to select a new member of the school board. Apparently, democracy isn't worth the hassle if it costs four-bits a person.

BARNEY CIRCLE: It's hard to believe it but the city is actually thinking about resuming freeway construction. The area under consideration extends from Barney Circle to East Capitol Street. According to the Department of Transportation draft environmental impact statement, the primary reason through traffic uses residential streets within the Barney Circle study area is because of gaps in the freeway system. Links that would allow motorists to bypass these residential neighborhoods do not exist.

Several alternatives are being proposed, ranging from doing nothing to spending over \$100 million to make it marginally easier to get from the Anacostia Freeway to Barney Circle.

[Please turn to page 21]

THE PRESS

Bob Alperin

• President Reagan said Israel "unnecessarily" delayed leaving Lebanon, neglecting "a certain moral point" in not heeding Lebanon's pullout calls. Israel was "an occupying force." The PLO and Syria were not mentioned. If more peacekeeping troops were needed, Reagan favored it. The comments were widely reported. The *Baltimore Sun* made it their top story. The *Washington Post* had nothing. Reagan's remarks had been to the local TV anchormen. (Later the *Post* used his troop comment near the end of a story on the US response to the massacre inquiry.)

• Post front page: "Marine Had Israeli in Rifle Sights." "Pentagon sources" said so. The next day, page nine, paragraph 13, of a "Rocket Explodes... Near... Pullout Talks" story noted that the Pentagon had denied the gun sight story.

• A Post page 15 item: Israeli Tourism Minister Sharir was quoted as revealing one reason for last summer's Israeli invasion of Lebanon was to sabotage a PLO offer of a non-aggression pact. A *Los Angeles Times* story with more details of the controversy over what he said appeared also in the *Boston Globe* and *Hartford Courant*.

• The same David Ottaway story was "Lebanese Deny Torture Charges by Palestinians" (*Post*) and "Palestinians Say Activists Fatally Tortured by Lebanese Army" (*Hartford Courant*). The latter reflected the story's first paragraph, the traditional key for headlines.

• An AP (*Miami Herald*) report of certain testimony before the Israeli Commission on the Beirut massacre had eleven paragraphs touching on the doctoring of documents which indicated when top officials learned of the killings.

A duty officer at the Defense Ministry was phoned by a top Foreign Ministry official who asserted US negotiator Morris Draper told him that a massacre was underway. Did the US know before top Israelis?

The *Post* account of the same day's testimony included none of the above.

* * *

The *Post*'s massive, many times excellent, Middle East coverage missed:

• A Lebanese army investigation reported that many who died in the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut were adult male fighters (including Syrian and Iranian commandos) who died in a fierce battle. Of the 470 dead there were: 328 Palestinians (including seven women and eight children), 109 Lebanese (including eight women and 12 children), 21 Iranians, seven Syrians, three Pakistanis and two Algerians (wire: *Herald*). The PLO said 3,000 died and US and Israeli intelligence estimated 700-800.

• 1982 emigration from Israel was less than half the 1981 figure (AP: *Atlantic City Press*).

• The Labor Party, which calls for a freeze on settlements in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), controls Histadrut, Israel's labor federation that is also a major business concern. Histadrut wants the construction contracts to build the new settlements (AP: *Philadelphia Inquirer*; also the *Globe*).

• Israeli President Navon, touted as a future Labor Party leader, told the National Press Club that Egyptian press articles and cartoons "remind us of the worst periods of our history in this century" because of their anti-Semitism.

Navon said Israelis agreed that Jerusalem ought to remain undivided and the capital, that the pre-1967 boundaries were indefensible, that a Palestinian state in the occupied areas would be a threat and wouldn't solve the Palestinian problem, and that the PLO was a terrorist organization out to destroy Israel (Reuter: *Globe*).

Many US media, and political leaders too, seem to focus on personalities, and apparently think the removal of Sharon and Begin from office would largely solve the Middle East's problems. If they listened, Navon could have educated them on widely-shared Israeli perceptions of their national interest.

* * *

Post-missed news included:

- Alabama Gov. Wallace had an austere inaugural: no marching bands or balls. Supporters could come shake hands. A symphony and the all-black Tuskegee Choir ended festivities.

Wallace had appointed two blacks to the cabinet (revenue and welfare commissioners) and persuaded legislative leaders to appoint four black committee chairmen, and nine blacks to key committees: Ways and Means, Rules, and Judiciary (*Herald*).

- Wallace appointed actress Delores Pickett, who campaigned for him, executive assistant for minority affairs (AP: *Inquirer*).

- Among workers and former employees at the Rocky Flats, Colo. nuclear weapons plant, deaths from brain cancer and other head tumors may be twice the national average (AP: *Inquirer, Globe*).

- At Georgetown U., Edward Teller, key H-bomb developer, asked the US to renounce first use of nuclear weapons. He flayed a "policy of exaggerated secrecy" that prevented discussion of new defense measures. The Soviets know of research the American people can't hear about (AP: *Atlantic City Press*).

- UPI (*Press*) reported that a 136 page secret Defense Dept. document has many references to the need to "prevail" in a protracted nuclear war and calls for waging war from outer space. As "an essential element of U.S. strategy" it plans for expanding any conventional war with the Soviets to a global scale. (The *NY Times* and *Post* had part of the study in mid-1982.) The Pentagon again denied it plans to fight and win a "protracted nuclear war." It wants to let the USSR know its plans for such a war ought to be discarded (wire: *Herald*).

- A corporate quality assurance director was indicted for falsifying a report that said protective coating for a NJ nuclear plant was defect-free after it had failed radiation tests (AP: *Press*).

- A plumbing supplier (10% of his business may be with nuclear plants) admitted exaggerating steel piping strength. One case: pipe fittings designed to take 150 lbs. pressure were labeled 3,000 lbs. Some pipes were sold to VEPCO's Surry plant. VEPCO says the fittings weren't used in the safety system and were no danger (AP: *Hartford Courant, Herald, Globe*).

- An engineer heading safety analysis for Babcock & Wilcox, Three Mile Island's builders, testified that if his guidelines had been sent to TMI the accident wouldn't have happened. For past Post failure to cover the TMI-B&W lawsuit see the Feb. *Gazette*. Finally the *Post* had a story: the suit was settled out of court (page D9).

- Church sources said Polish Archbishop Glemp's elevation to cardinal showed papal support for his policies, under fire from militant Polish priests as too moderate toward the government (wire: *Inquirer*).

- Archbishop Bernardin said his elevation to cardinal was a papal "affirmation" of his leadership in opposing nuclear weapons (AP: *Inquirer*).

- AP (*Washington Times*) reported the Pope's support of the US bishops' crusade against nuclear weapons was conveyed to US and European prelates by the Vatican Secretary of State. (*Post* coverage emphasized the bishops' failure to issue a joint statement.)

- The Dept. of Justice admitted a memo finding Louisiana's reapportionment plan "not racially discriminatory" was backdated to precede a black voters' suit challenging the plan. Their attorney said the approval was inconsistent with Assistant Attorney General Bradford's staff recommendations (AP: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*).

* * *

- Post: "Activists Fail to See Barry About Cuts" suggests the activists didn't show, or were late, or otherwise deserving of blame. As the opening sentence made clear, the mayor refused to see about 30 welfare recipients and community service activists. He sent two aides instead.

- "U.S. Accuses Soviets of Trying to Intimidate Japan" was continued on A12 under a story "Reagan Terms Threat By Soviets a 'Rumor.'" The careful reader learned Reagan was referring to a START talks rumor. The *Post* continued to print stories on Japan, as on other topics, widely scattered and not cross-referenced.

* * *

- A one-sentence *Post* item reported a South African prison official as saying that three blacks died of heat exhaustion on a penal farm and 44 others were hospitalized. There was no follow-up story on SA use of penal labor, but five days later

they ran a feature on Sun City, Bophuthatswana (a black state recognized only by SA), an entertainment center contrary to traditional Afrikaaner moral values.

- Another *Post* brief: a prominent Washington law firm said SA had hired it to lobby against a "Massachusetts stock divestiture law" that cut into trade with SA, but that the firm was paid far less for the work than the \$300,000 it listed on a state lobby disclosure form. A *Globe* survey of top dollar lobbies turned up the SA funds. Smathers, Symington, & Herlong had received \$300,000 from SA, but only about \$1500 was used in Mass. The law, passed over then-Gov. King's veto, requires state pension funds to sell \$120 m. of investments in companies doing business with SA.

* * *

Some South African news not in the *Post* included:

- Zimbabwe lifted restrictions on the use of fuel (British Broadcasting Corp.). The *Post* had run two long stories on the fuel shortage caused by sabotage in Mozambique by SA-backed forces. (*Le Monde* noted that the sabotage was "having a disastrous effect" on Malawi's economy. That landlocked state is conservative and has good relations with SA.)

- The US seeks to link Namibia's independence from SA with Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. When visiting Zambia, Vice-President Bush was reminded by the head of that country's ruling party that the Cubans were legally present at Angola's invitation, while SA's presence was illegal "in arrogant defiance of UN resolutions" (AP: *Inquirer*).

- UN Sec. Gen. Perez de Cuellar rejected any linkage of the Cuban issue with Namibia. He would pursue Namibian independence within the framework of Security Council Resolution 435 which declared SA's mandate over Namibia null and void and recognized SWAPO as the sole representative of the Namibian people (*NY Times*).

- After four days of talks with top Chinese officials, SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma announced that China would supply SWAPO with arms, ammo, and humanitarian aid (Reuter: *Globe*).

- SA Foreign Minister Botha rejected any multinational peacekeeping force in Southern Africa. Bush had suggested such a force earlier (Reuter: *Globe*).

- The *Post* gave much attention to the Labor Party's support of SA's proposed constitution which still excludes participation by the black majority. Labor is the main political party for SA coloureds (mixed-race). The *Post* didn't report the resignations of Labor's leader in the Transvaal, or of its chairman in Natal Province (Reuter: *Globe*).

- The Commander of SA Prisons announced prisoners in some sections of Robben Island prison had been on hunger strikes for several days. SA says there are 289 political and security prisoners there (*The Times-London*).

* * *

Foreign tires came close to a far greater share of the US market. In 1972, new Goodyear President Pilliod had a top level design and production meeting: other executives strongly argued that radial tires would never be much in the US. He ignored the consensus and built radials (*Wall Street Journal*).

* * *

Long-range economic forecasting creates the crucial assumptions within which planning and discussion occurs. A *Wall Street Journal* opinion piece noted that in the last 14 years, the Office of Management and Budget was within 25% of estimating the next year's budget but three times!

* * *

Reporting Reagan's reference to "the Ten Commandments of Nikolai Lenin," the *Post* noted no such list was known to scholars. A follow-up noted "Nikolai" was often used by conservatives rather than the correct "Vladimir Ilych." Letters complained that in the early post-Bolshevik Revolution period "Nikolai" appeared in leftist publications.

Concentrating on the first name question, the whole exchange missed the point: Reagan believes a spurious marxist "Ten Commandments" exists and guides Soviet policy.

* * *

The *Post* briefly noted the sentencing of 32 Red Brigade members for the murder of former Italian Premier Aldo Moro. Last year's roundups of Brigade members after Gen. Dozier's rescue were heralded as destroying their power. An AP (*Globe*)

sentencing story reminded us attacks have continued, and an UPI followup (*Wash. Times*) reported the Brigades successfully robbed banks, raided arms depots, and claimed at least 13 lives in 1982.

The *Post* also ignored the possible murder motive: to destroy Moro's self-termed "historic compromise"—bringing the Communist Party into the government coalition. Ultra-Leftists would see this as Communist betrayal of the workers, while rightists would see a different treason. Moro's widow saw the inept police response during his 55 days a captive as reflecting some political figures' wishes to have Moro and his policy gone.

The Italian paper *La Stampa* asked: "Were the ineptitude... mistakes, unexplained delays, useless operations, grotesque distractions and laxity... of the state... the result of incapacity or the will of some people?" (Reuter: *Arab News*—a Saudi English-language daily).

* * *

Post Latin American coverage, sometimes up with the best, has surprising gaps:

- A Salvadoran appeals court ruled the indictments against five ex-national guardsmen charged with murdering four American churchwomen were "defective." (UPI: *Globe*) Among defense options: filing a writ of habeas corpus which would require a Salvadoran supreme court review before a trial could start. (The next day the *Post*, deep into a related story, noted an appeals court had returned the case to a local court. Ten days later a major *Post* review of human rights in El Salvador reported the appeals court ruling was awaited.)

- Two ex-guardsmen reenacted for court officials how they killed the head of El Salvador's land reform and two US land reform experts in 1981. The confessions can't be used against them. The hearing was to determine if there was enough evidence for a murder charge. Judges said the officer the men accused of ordering the slayings can't be tried for lack of evidence (wire: *Herald*).

- US intelligence agents were for the first time investigating the Salvadoran violent right's structure and the "death squad" killings (AP: *Courant*).

- Honduran business and labor leaders complained of reduced sugar quotas and disappearing lines of credit. New mills doubled production in 1979. Bank credits fell from \$240 million to \$12 million in six years (*Herald*).

A major *Herald* story on the effects of the reduced US sugar quotas noted that if sugar duties were eliminated as proposed under Reagan's stalled Caribbean initiative, the gain in revenue wouldn't match the loss caused by the cut quotas.

- In secret testimony, CIA Director Casey said US-backed forces had conducted sabotage raids in Nicaragua. Stated goals of CIA covert-action were: to stop arms flow to the Salvadoran rebels, and to pressure Nicaragua—but not overthrow its government (AP: *Inquirer*).

* * *

Post headlines too often are uninformative. Compare "Reagan Faults Corporate Income Tax" with the *Globe*'s "Reagan: abolish corporate income tax." The Feb. 10 *Post* was a *tour-de-force* of headline problems. "U.S. Weighs Plan for 'Two-Track' Policy on Salvador" was on the main story. It didn't tell the tracks, which the first sentence noted were to promote negotiation with the rebels while supporting government efforts to suppress them. (Two days later UN Envoy Kirkpatrick's denial of any US support for negotiations was on page 7, but that's another problem.)

"Youth Wage A Mistake, Reagan Says" could mean he realized his plan to exempt teen summer jobs from the minimum wage was wrong. But it doesn't. Including them under it originally was the "mistake."

"White House Acts in EPA Controversy" was vague while "EPA Settled Despite Counsel's Advice" gives no hint that 24 major companies may avoid millions of dollars in liability for cleaning up a hazardous waste dump.

"Man Carrying Bombs Holds 12 Hostages In P.G." says it was still happening. The first sentence made it clear he had surrendered.

* * *

When the *Post* advertised its all week for \$1 offer, it listed eight reasons to subscribe. Eight was its news coverage. First was "Dollars and dollars worth of coupons." Of all the papers I've seen, the *Post* is regularly tops in quantity of coupons. The *New York Times* isn't anywhere near the playoffs.

CHUCK STONE

PIERRE DUPONT'S JOB PLAN

Recently, Delaware Governor Pierre duPont addressed Washington's sanctuary reserved for top newsmakers, the National Press Club.

If duPont had been governor of say, New York or California, his dramatic proposal, "Retooling the Workforce: the Need for a National Employment Policy," would have been splashed on the nation's front pages.

But somehow, smaller states (Delaware ranks 47th in population) suffer the same ignominy as Nathaniel's contemptuous inquiry of Philip about Jesus, "Can there anything good come out of Nazareth?"

Can a *Republican* governor (and from Delaware already) call for a national employment policy? May the ghosts of Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie rise up in tribute.

A politician of refreshing consistency, duPont praised the highway repair program as "a good way to repair roads, but it's clearly not a jobs program."

"The answers of the Congress are not the answers for the '80s and the '90s. The jobs of tomorrow require new skills and different education than the jobs of yesterday," he said.

He then presented a four-point program that produces a "double-barreled assault at both ends of the unemployment line":

1. A National Employment Assistance Program with a single package of unemployment benefits, training vouchers and *immediate* search-and-location assistance for an estimated 1.5 million workers.

2. A two-year, \$2-billion emergency program providing equivalent assistance on a one-time basis to 1 million individuals in the most dire circumstances.

3. A \$1-billion school-to-work transition program called "Jobs for American Graduates" to assist nearly one-fourth of 1983's graduating class.

DuPont calls this one a solution to the "front-end loading of the unemployment lines"—high school graduates who can't find jobs. "Certified failures," he said sadly.

"Jobs for America's Graduates, of which I'm chairman," said duPont, "are already working

successfully in eight states. Their combined budgets are \$7.2 million."

4. A National Employment Investment Board, which would be "vested with broad authority over employment and training programs" by co-ordinating federal, state and local government programs in a public-private effort. The secretary of labor would serve as chairman of the board.

In his office, the governor discussed the imperative linkage of education to employment.

"Two things are most important to our society," he said. Job opportunities—people must feel able to work—and education.

"People must have a sense of hope, a sense of upward mobility. This is the glue of our country."

Toward an improved education, the second-term duPont administration has initiated a series of innovations:

- An annual testing program to track progress.
- Alternative classrooms for disruptive students.
- Basic skills unit, a remedial program.
- A gifted and talented unit.
- Competency testing for teachers.

"We hope to get into curriculum reform," he said with pleasant intensity, "to require two science, two math courses and a basic computer course before a student can graduate."

But discussions of his broad-scale national employment policy clearly gladden his heart.

DuPont graciously credits his secretary of labor, Dennis Carey, for much of the dislocated worker program.

"A lot of this is due to Dennis," he said. (The scholarly Carey is also probably the only secretary of labor to have swum the English Channel.)

"In Delaware, our Jobs for Delaware Graduates has an 85 percent placement rate. We knocked on every business door to place these kids."

"Now, after two years, we have business coming to us."

"Last week, I got a call from Kalamazoo," he chuckled reflectively. "The Upjohn corporation wanted us to send someone out to start a program there. They would pay for the training."

"Right now, across America, we have 7,000 kids in 138 high schools, testing this thing out," he beamed proudly.

"The program was designed to build bridges between education and jobs."

But he conceded that politicians of both parties are not yet stampeding to his program.

"There are two philosophies in Washington. One is that prosperity is just around the corner. The other is the 1933 public works program. Neither can solve the problems of the '80s."

"We need federal retraining programs for dislocated workers who have been thrown out of work by closed industries."

He paused and gazed intensely at the floor as if seeing the faces of the unemployed and the hungry—faces that never seem to distress Ronald Reagan.

"It all comes back to hope. If you could say what the objectives of government should be, it would include our getting kids a good education and a job. The worst thing you can do is give people education and not provide a job opportunity."

Philadelphia Daily News

Supporting Subscriptions

In some European countries, small circulation political and alternative journals keep going with the aid of supporting subscribers who contribute a sum in addition to the normal subscription fee to aid the publication in its work. You will note on your renewal form that there is such a category. We hope you will indicate your support of our efforts by subscribing at the supporting rate of \$15 a year rather than the normal fee. This will allow us not only to continue as an advocacy journal, but to carry on various activities which, while desirable, are not particularly cost-effective e.g. reaching public officials and groups that might not otherwise subscribe, subsidizing subscriptions for prisoners and low-income persons, and serving as a resource for groups and individuals seeking social change. We hope you will become a supporting subscriber when you renew, which, incidentally, you can do right now by sending us \$15 and a sample of your mailing label. Mail to DC Gazette, 1734 Cnn. Ave. NW, DC 20009. Thank you.

A Connecticut man claims modern life is turning us all into neurotics. In "The Neurotic's Handbook," author Charles Monagan lists common annoyances that he says have propelled us into the "neurotic's heyday": empty ice trays; just missing the telephone; getting tuna fish in the mayonnaise; choosing the wrong line at banks and grocery stores; and driving behind someone who has the turn signal blinking but doesn't turn. Monagan, who admits he's no authority on the subject, views his book as a guide and a comfort. "We all have trouble getting through the day from time to time," he says. "If you just pick up this book and read it, there's two or three hours killed right there."

FINDING OUT MORE

The Center for Socialist History has been established as a nonprofit, tax-exempt institution to promote research and publication in the history of socialism. Little work is being done by socialists in this area.

A number of projects are underway, foremost of which is the production of a *Concise Encyclopedia of Socialist History*. In connection with this, CSH has established an Encyclopedia File covering entries by person, organization, periodical, etc., which aims to become the most comprehensive repository of material on socialist history ever created. CSH is also producing indexes for books which lack them and for unindexed socialist periodicals. The Center contains a Socialist Feminism section with its own working library and file folder facility.

The Center publishes the *CSH Interbulletin* which covers its activity, and especially what others are doing in the field of socialist history both in the U.S. and abroad. Subscriptions are \$10 for four issues. Info: Richard Broadhead, Executive Director, Center for Socialist History, 2633 Etna, Berkeley, CA 94704.

"SAVE LEBANON" t-shirts. Available in tan, light blue and royal blue at \$6.50 each from the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 1731 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009. Proceeds will go to the Save Lebanon's Children's Fund.

DANGEROUS DECEPTION: Civil Defense Planning in the Nuclear Age. Pamphlet outlining fallacies in civil defense planning and what you can do about it. 15 cents for one, \$10 for a hundred from SANE, 711 G SE, DC 20003.

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Safety Last critiques the NRC's proposal to issue "learner's permits" to nuclear power plants to speed up the licensing process.

Selling Nuclear Power challenges a widely circulated nuclear industry advertisement and demonstrates nuclear power has little or no impact on our dependence on foreign oil.

Nukes Face the Bottom Line analyzes the economics of nuclear power.

The Plutonium Connection discusses Reagan administration proposals to use plutonium wastes from commercial reactors for nuclear weapons production.

The Military Atom lists groups, publications, films and other resources on nuclear weapons and war, the nuclear freeze, and other campaigns against the arms race (8 pp., \$1.00.)

Nuclear Power Safety Report ranks all nuclear plants according to their overall performance, using the latest data available. The study includes valuable information on every plant: significant mishaps, worker exposure, safety threats, and more. (32 pp., \$4.00).

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REPORTS

The Lessons of Abscam, Jerry Berman, American Civil Liberties Union. This 69-page policy report explains how the FBI violated its own guidelines through its Abscam operation. Includes specific recommendations for new legislation to control the FBI's power to engage in undercover operations. \$1.50. Literature Department, ACLU, 132 W. 43rd St., New York, NY 10036. —M.W.

Going for Broke: The University and the Military-Industrial Complex, Committee for Non-Violent Research, Ann Arbor, 1982. This "foundation for further work" examines Department of Defense contracts with the University of Michigan. Similar information about the relationship of the government to the university can be disclosed through research and FOIA requests.



CITY TALK

Bike cut-back

From Michael Replogle, chair of the government affairs committee of the Washington Area Bicyclist Association:

Spending patterns and other actions by the D.C. Department of Transportation indicate a reduction in its commitment to improving bicycle transportation. Continued pursuit of an unbalanced transportation policy that neglects bicycles can only result in more accidents and injuries for thousands of D.C. cyclists, more traffic congestion in the downtown area and neighborhood protests over excessive residential area traffic, increased air and noise pollution, and additional gasoline use which has a negative effect on the local economy.

Most alarming is the apparent refusal of DOT to spend money on bicycle transportation which has been authorized by the city council. Only 15 percent of the total capital funds authorized for bicycle transportation improvements between 1978 and 1982 have been spent. None of the \$465,000 authorized by the council in fiscal 1982 as the local match for bicycle capital improvements has been spent. As a result, the District stands to lose more than \$1.3 million in federal funds authorized for bicycle projects unless immediate action is taken to avoid a lapse in funding authority.

We have been told by the financial staff of DOT that these capital funds remain unspent because the planning and programming section of DOT places these improvements at the bottom of its priority list.

Furthermore, only 69 percent of the highway planning and research funds authorized for bicycle programs between 1978 and 1982 have been spent. This has resulted in the loss of nearly \$50,000 in matching federal funds intended for bicycle transportation. In fiscal 1982 alone, only \$12,411 was obligated out of the \$45,000 HPR authorization for bicycle programs.

In a May 25, 1982 letter to Mayor Barry, we submitted a request in writing for information on future funding plans for the D.C. Bicycle Office. That request was never filled. In the last two months, we have made telephone calls to the Bicycle Office to obtain the figures, with little result. Several days ago, we were asked to place our request in writing. We are at this point skeptical that DOT has the ability or the desire to assist us with this request.

However, we can say that it appears bicycle transportation capital spending has been decreasing in recent years. Moreover, sources within D.C. DOT have indicated to us that further cutbacks will be made, regardless of the actions taken by the council.

* * *

Based on figures provided by the Washington Metropolitan Area Council of Governments, we estimate that bicycles now account for approximately one percent of all trips made within the District. With a properly funded program to improve conditions for bicyclists, this silent, pollution-free, non-energy consuming mode of transportation could account for three times that number in ten years. This conclusion is also supported by a 1980 study by the U.S. Department of Transportation.

SOUTH AFRICA

JOHN RAY

The cruel oppression of South Africa's system of apartheid is well-known and widely condemned. Yet the system persists, partly because the statements of outrage only rarely have been matched with effective action.

But the trend to take such action is growing rapidly among state and city legislatures and the policy-making boards of pension funds and other organizations controlling large blocks of investment capital. Six states, at least ten cities, more than 30 universities, and several labor unions, churches and other groups have adopted policies requiring total or partial divestiture of funds from corporations and financial institutions which do business with South Africa.

I have introduced legislation requiring the District of Columbia to withdraw investments from firms doing business with South Africa. No city or state is more important to this movement than the nation's capital. By enacting this legislation, we will say to the nation and the world not only that we condemn apartheid but also that we are prepared to back up our words with action.

U.S. investment in South Africa runs well over \$6 billion and amounts to at least one-fifth of the total foreign investment in the country, according to research compiled by organizations leading the divestiture movement. American money is an important element in every aspect of the South African economy, providing the technology, goods and capital the apartheid government needs to function.

The U.S. Consulate General in Johannesburg has identified approximately 300 American firms operating in South Africa, including such multinational giants as IBM, Mobil Oil, and Union Carbide. The United Nations has identified more than 125 U.S. banks and financial institutions which have made loans in South Africa, and the Federal Reserve Board reports that the amount of outstanding loans from U.S. institutions rose from \$1.8 billion in June 1981 to \$3.6 billion a year later.

Many of South Africa's black leaders believe that foreign investors should pull out of the country. As strongly as they dare, they have urged U.S. economic pressure as a necessary measure to force an end to apartheid. Bishop Desmond Tutu, the nation's most prominent black clergyman, put it this way:

Any black leader who calls for economic sanctions is already guilty of treason under the Terrorism Act and subject to five years in prison or death. We have said as much as we can possibly say. We hope we have reasonably intelligent friends overseas who will know what we're saying.

In the United States, public and private organizations are enacting a variety of policies to bring pressure on corporations and financial institutions

to cease operations in South Africa. Because most such policies allow a time period of about two years to implement the rather complicated process of divestiture, the results of such action are only beginning to be felt nationwide.

The plans already in effect require divestiture of literally hundreds of millions of dollars. Philadelphia alone is divesting \$70 million in pension fund investments. Three church organizations withdrew \$65 million from Citibank. The American Lutheran Church is divesting \$20 million.

There has been some initial impact on the targeted firms, and the results are certain to grow as the movement gains momentum. The pressure has forced greater corporate scrutiny of South African loans and operations and some firms have agreed to make no new investments there. For instance, the continuing pressure forced the Polaroid Corporation to pull out of South Africa in 1977. The movement's growth has prompted the South African government to take steps to analyze the potential economic impact.

The effects on the divesting institutions are equally encouraging. The available studies show no loss of portfolio income as a result of divestiture; in some cases, investment performance has improved. Michigan State University reported a \$1 million earnings increase after switching \$7.5 million out of South Africa-related investments. Robert J. Schwartz, vice president of the Shearson/American Express investment firm, has stated, "By careful selection, the exclusion of companies in South Africa may be replaced by more profitable investments. The socially responsible investment funds which I manage have outperformed the major indices of stocks and bonds."

Here are the major divestiture laws and resolutions enacted by other states and cities:

Massachusetts—The legislature on January 4 overrode the governor's veto to enact legislation requiring withdrawal of pension fund monies from corporations and banks doing business in South Africa. The vote was 23 to 5 in the Senate and 132 to 2 in the House. The *Boston Globe* editorially endorsed the measure as "a progressive and pioneering law." The state four years earlier had banned new investments in firms doing business in South Africa.

Michigan—Governor William Milliken signed a divestiture bill into law on December 31, 1982. It requires state educational institutions to divest from corporations operating in South Africa. In 1980, the state prohibited the deposit of state funds in banks that make loans in South Africa.

Connecticut—A partial pension fund divestiture law took effect in June 1982.

Wisconsin—The University of Wisconsin was required to divest \$11 million when the state Attor-

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ney General ruled that investments in South Africa-related firms violated the state law prohibiting investment in companies that condone racial discrimination. The legislature is expected to consider a broader divestiture bill this year.

Kentucky—Governor John Y. Brown pledged in August 1982 to cut off all business ties with South Africa after the NAACP and others protested his earlier move to expand trade with South Africa.

Nebraska—The legislature on March 31, 1980, enacted a resolution requiring state officials to review the investment portfolios and eventually divest the approximately \$22 million then in firms which operate in South Africa.

The following ten cities have approved divestiture ordinances or policies in one form or another: Philadelphia; New York; Hartford, Conn.; Grand Rapids and East Lansing, Mich.; Berkeley, Cotati, and Davis, Calif.; Gary, Ind.; and Cambridge, Mass. Eight universities have adopted total divestiture policies, and more than 25 are undertaking partial divestiture.

The District of Columbia Proposal

The bill is patterned after those enacted by other states and cities and most closely resembles the

Philadelphia law. It states that "no public funds shall be invested or remain invested in the stocks, securities, or other obligations" of banks and financial institutions which lend money to the government or the national corporations of South Africa or to U.S. corporate subsidiaries in South Africa. It prohibits the investment of public funds in U.S. companies and subsidiaries which do business in South Africa. And it provides a two-year time limit to accomplish divestiture, with provisions for extending the period if necessary to protect investment income.

John Ray is a member of the D.C. City Council.

REDEFINING JURIES

MICHAEL KROLL

In the end, the recent Florida murder trial of Howard Virgil Lee Douglas may prove more important for its verdict on the traditional American jury system than for the jury's verdict on Douglas.

Confronted with a brutal crime, 12 jurors weighed the evidence against Douglas and found him guilty. As they returned from their second deliberation—to determine his punishment—the tense moment of life or death arrived.

"Has the jury a recommendation regarding the penalty in this case?" asked the judge.

"We have, your honor," the jury foreman replied. "The jury recommends that Howard Lee Douglas be sentenced to prison for life." But whatever relief Douglas may have felt was short-lived. For the presiding judge then overruled the jury's recommendation and sentenced the accused to die in the electric chair. The judge chose to disregard the views of ten of the twelve jurors.

How far we have come from the traditional American jury—the 12 men acting in unanimity as the "conscience and voice of the community?"

The origins of the "American" 12-person, unanimous jury are obscure, but it has been a feature of common law since the mid-14th century. Indeed, the framers of the U.S. Constitution felt no need to define the term "jury" when they guaranteed Americans the right to one in both criminal and civil cases. As the New Hampshire Supreme Court wrote when interpreting that state's 1783 constitution, "No such thing as a jury of less than twelve men, or a jury deciding by less than twelve voices, had ever been known, or ever been the subject of discussion in any country of the common law."

Yet, in a series of cases over the past 12 years, a new definition of the jury has materialized:

- "Williams v. Florida" (1970) held that a jury of six, even in serious criminal cases, did not violate the Constitution;
- "Johnson v. Louisiana" and "Apodaca v. Oregon" (1972) eliminated the requirement of unanimous verdicts;
- "Colgrove v. Battin" (1973) held that a six-person jury was sufficient in civil cases.

The sum of these decisions, commented Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, "...undermines the principle on which the whole notion of the jury now rests." The late Justice William O. Douglas described the emerging new jury as "a radical departure from American traditions...a vast restructuring of American law."

But such concerns were overridden in 1979, when the Supreme Court's majority ruled that, although a 12-person unanimous jury was still required in federal cases, the states were free to experiment as long as the great purpose of the jury—to stand between the government and the accused to thwart government oppression—was not compromised. All that states are required to provide, found the divided court, is the functional equivalent of the traditional body.

Numerous studies have demonstrated that the quality of group deliberations is higher in larger groups than in smaller ones, for instance. In larger groups, minority members or members with minority points of view are more likely to be represented and to speak up. Smaller groups, even

where minority viewpoints are represented, tend to be dominated by one or two vocal members who have an inhibiting effect on others, especially those whose views might counter the biases of the other group members.

The effects of these reductions of people and views on the jury system can be tragic: Smaller juries make more mistakes, tending to convict innocent people more often than do larger juries. It is a basic principle of statistics that if any polling sample is reduced from 1,500 to 750, the poll's margin of error increases by over 40 percent. The same is true if a jury is cut in half.

Requiring unanimity for a jury to convict had been seen as essential to the assertion that a person is innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. "The doubts of single juror," Justice Marshall has written, "are evidence that the government has failed to carry [this] burden of proof."

In fact, comprehensive studies of comparative jury performance reveal that juries allowing less than unanimous verdicts are even more prosecution-prone than juries of fewer than 12. "The abandonment of the unanimity rule is but another way of reducing the size of the jury," says University of Chicago Law Professor Hans Zeisel, who has conducted many of those studies. "But it is reduction with a vengeance. Minority viewpoints fare better on a jury of ten that must be unanimous than on a jury of twelve where ten members must agree."

Recognizing the dangers inherent in both the shrinkage of the jury and the majority decision, the court has moved to establish some limits, ruling in 1978 that juries of five are unconstitutional; and, in 1979, that six-person juries must reach unanimous verdicts. "The purpose and functioning of the jury in a criminal trial is seriously impaired, and to a constitutional degree, by a reduction in size below six members," wrote Justice Harry Blackmun.

The irony, however, is that the data the Supreme Court used to arrive at its conclusions was based on studies of six-person versus 12-person juries. In other words, the functional differences Blackmun noted are also applicable to the six-person juries the court allowed. Each

reduction in jury size incrementally increases the possibility of error in favor of the prosecution.

The court has left many other questions unanswered. Juries must now be comprised of at least six members acting unanimously—but do seven-member juries now require unanimity? Only ten of twelve jurors are needed to reach a verdict, but what if only nine agree, or eight? Can a simple majority prevail?

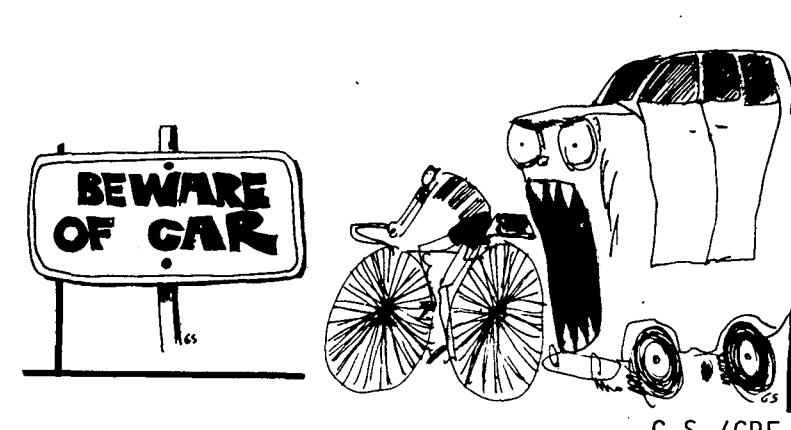
Some of these questions may be answered when the appeal from Howard Douglas' death sentence reaches the high court. In Florida—as in Alabama and Indiana—the jury's decision as to punishment in a capital case is purely advisory. Moreover, in Florida the jury's decision for life or death requires only a simple majority. Thus, if seven jurors vote for the death penalty, and five for life, the sentence will be death. On the other hand, even if all twelve jurors vote for life, the judge is empowered to impose death. Judges routinely exercise that power in Florida, the state with the largest death row population in the country. About one third of all death sentences there are imposed by judges overruling jury recommendations for mercy.

The brief filed on Douglas' behalf by the National Association of Criminal Defense lawyers and the Florida Public Defenders Association cites 700 years of common law tradition where "the finality of a jury decision for the accused has been deemed beyond the discretion of monarch or president, parliament or legislature."

But the same common law tradition did not prevent the court from upholding the six-person jury in 1970, or the less than unanimous verdict in 1972. If the Court permits judges to continue to sentence to death those whom the jury has voted to spare, it may be the functional equivalent of a death sentence for the jury system itself.

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Michael Kroll is a regular contributor to California Lawyer, the magazine of the California Bar Association.



THE GAZETTE GUIDE

From time to time, the Gazette will publish updated portions of our annual guide to alternative media and national action groups. If your organization is not listed, or is incorrectly listed, please let us know. We can also add short descriptions of 25 words or less. Mail any changes on a postcard to the DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009.

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CONSUMERS UNION 256 Washington St. Mt. Vernon Ny. 10550

FEDERATION OF HOMEMAKERS 927 Stuart St. Arlington Va. 22203

CONSUMERS UNION OF THE US 1511 K NW #1033 DC 20005

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE 1522 K St. NW (406) DC 20005

PUBLIC CITIZEN PO Box 19404 DC 20036

AVIATION CONSUMER ACTION PROJECT PO Box 19029 DC 20036

CENTER FOR AUTO SAFETY 1346 Conn. Ave. NW #1223 DC 20036

AUTO ACTION COUNCIL, 1010 Vermont Ave. NW #721, DC 20005

CONSUMER FEDERATION OF AMERICA, 1314 14th St. NW (2nd floor), DC 20005

CONSUMER ACTION, 1625 Eye NW #922, DC 20006

DECENTRALISM

ANARCHIST ASSN OF THE AMERICAS PO Box 840 B Frkln Sta DC 20044

DECENTRALIST COALITION c/o John McClaughry Institute for Liberty & Community Concord, Vt. 05824

ANARCHISM COMMITTEE LC BOX 134 Lewis & Clark College Portland Oregon 97219

DRUGS

NORML 530 8th SE DC 20003. 202-223-3170. National organization working for legalization of marijuana.

ECONOMICS

CITIZEN LABOR ENERGY COALITION, 1300 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 857-5153.

JOBS WITH PEACE NATIONAL NETWORK, 2940 16th St. #b-1, San Francisco, CA 94103. 415-558-8615

THE CENTER FOR ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION, Box 363 (Calais Stage Road), Worcester, Vt. 05682

YOUNG PEOPLES LOBBY FOR JOBS. 130 East 16th St. NYC NY 10003. 212-673-3700.

COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC PRIORITIES 84 Fifth Ave. NYC NY 10011

CENTER FOR POPULAR ECONOMICS Box 765 Amherst MA 01002

COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF USA 1828 L St. NW, DC 20036

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT 500 E. 62nd st., NYC NY 10021

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT 15 Union Square West NYC NY 10003

NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND LAW CENTER 2150 Shattuck Ave. #300 Berkeley CA 94704

OWNERSHIP CAMPAIGN PO BOX 40849 DC 20016

JOBS WATCH / CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY REVIEW Catholic University DC 20064

NATIONAL CENTER FOR EMPLOYEE OWNERSHIP, 4836 S. 28th St., Arlington, Va. 22206. 703-931-2757. Working on ways that employees can assume control of businesses.

FULL EMPLOYMENT ACTION COUNCIL, 815 16h St. NW (310), DC 20006

ASSN OF WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY, 1747 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009

ALTERNATIVE WORK PATTERNS, 807 10nd. Ave. SE, DC 20003. 547-5482

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EDUCATION

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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION One Dupont Circle NW, DC 20036

COMMITTEE FOR SELF EDUCATION 11 Garden St. Cambridge MA 02138

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CITIZENS IN EDUCATION Wilde Lake Village Green #410 Columbia Md. 21044

NORTH AMERICAN STUDENT COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION Box 7283 Ann Arbor Mich 48107. 313-663-0884

COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY SCHOOLS c/o St. Thomas Community School 147 St. Nicholas Ave., NYC NY 10026

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, PO Box 120574, Nashville, Tenn. 37212

NEW SCHOOLS EXCHANGE Pettigrew Ark 72752

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NATIONAL CHILD DAY CARE ASSN. 1501 Benning Rd. NE, DC 20002

CHILDRENS LEGAL RIGHTS INFORMATION AND TRAINING PROGRAM, 2008 Hillyer Place NW, DC 20009. 202-332-6575

COUNCIL FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN 1920 Association Drive Reston Va. 22091

ENVIRONMENT-ENERGY

ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION, 1346 Conn. Ave. NW DC 20036

LABOR COMMITTEE FOR SAFE ENERGY & FULL EMPLOYMENT, 1536 16th St. NW, DC 20036. 202-265-7190.

CLEAN WATER ACTION PROJECT 1341 G St. NW DC 20005
202-638-1196

CENTER FOR RENEWABLE RESOURCES 1001 Conn. Ave. NW DC 20036

NATIONAL SOLAR HEATING & COOLING INFORMATION CENTER PO Box 1607 Rockville Md. 20580

ENVIRONMENTALISTS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT 1536 16th St. NW (first floor) DC 20036

COMMITTEE FOR NUCLEAR RESPONSIBILITY Main PO Box 11207 San Francisco CA 94101

TASK FORCE AGAINST NUCLEAR POLLUTION PO Box 1817 DC 013 ADHOC NUCLEAR OPPONENTS 72 Jane St. NYC NY 10014

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WASTEWATCH 1346 Conn Ave. Suite 217 DC 20036

SOLAR LOBBY 1001 Conn. Ave. NW DC 20036. 202-466-6350

CAMPAIGN FOR LOWER ENERGY PRICES 1300 Conn. Ave. NW (401) DC 20036

FEMINIST ANTI-NUCLEAR TASKFORCE c/o PRC 1747 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009

ENVIRONMENTAL LAW INSTITUTE 1346 Conn. Ave. NW #614 DC 20036

ALTERNATIVE ENERGY CONFERENCE Box 269 Montague Mass. 01351

NATURE CONSERVANCY 1800 N. Kent #800 Arlington Va. 22209

CONSERVATION FOUNDATION 1717 Mass Ave. NW, DC 20036

WILDERNESS SOCIETY 1901 Penn Ave. NW DC 20036

MUSICIANS UNITED FOR SAFE ENERGY 72 Fifth Ave. (2nd floor) NYC NY 10011

SAFE ENERGY '80 5 Beekman St. New York Ny 10038

COALITION FOR A NON-NUCLEAR WORLD 236 Mass. Ave. NE #506 DC 20002

NATIONAL RECYCLING COALITION, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, #2350, NYC NY 10020

URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE 666 11th St. NW DC 202-638-3385. Model: on the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, UEC emphasizes environmental and occupational health, but is also involved in issues such as energy conservation, equity of energy and environmental laws, jobs and the environment, labor law reform, fair housing and ful employment. Lobbying, field organizing, technical assistance and citizen education.

NATIONAL AUDOBON SOCIETY, 645 Penna Ave. SE, DC 20003

AMERICAN RIVERS CONSERVATION COUNCIL, 317 Penna. Ave. SE, DC 20003. 202-547-6900. Works to save American rivers.

AMERICAN WIND ENRGY ASSOCIATION, 1609 Conn. Ave. NW; DC 20009. 202-667-9137

NUCLEAR INFORMATION & RESOURCE SERVICE, 1536 16th St. NW, DC 20036

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY CENTER, 317 Penna Ave. SE, DC 20003, 547-6500

NATIONAL CLEAN AIR COALITION, 530 7th SE, DC 20003. 543-0305

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH, 530 7th SE, DC 20003. 543-4312

ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND, 1525 18th St. NW, DC. 833-1484.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RADIATION VICTIMS, 317 Penna. Ave. SE DC 20003. 543-0222

[To Be Continued]



CITY DESK Cont'd

Fans of DC freeway planning will find in this matter some nostalgic echoes of the past, witness this excerpt from a news release on the plans:

"Mr. Downs noted that, while some of the alternatives will require major construction, this can be accomplished without displacing any residents or businesses. Some of the alternatives would require some use of RFK Stadium parking lot spaces, Congressional Cemetery land, or Anacostia Park acreage. The use of some park land, however, would provide an opportunity for upgrading and redesigning park facilities, DOT officials noted."

Indeed. Nothing improves a park so much as a nice freeway running through it.

My suspicion is that one of the real concerns involved in this project may be to improve traffic flow to RFK Stadium, the local monument that makes money for Jack Kent Cooke and loses it for the rest of us. Perhaps if the freeway is constructed it should be named the John Riggins Memorial Rushway. In any case, hearings will be held on March 22 starting at 630 and on March 25 at 330 and 7 pm at the Springarn High School. To get on the list call Lorraine Sorrel at 727-2157. Written comments can be sent directly to the Barney Circle Freeway Modification Study, Department of Transportation, Room 519, 415 12th St. NW.

REAGAN AND THE UNITED WAY: The Reagan administration, which has made a big thing of volunteerism, has moved to prevent federal workers from making about \$4 million in payroll contributions to non-profit groups that advocate social change. Among the groups to be cut from the federal combined charities drive would be the Sierra Club, the Legal Defense Fund, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund and Center for Science in the Public Interest. A few right-wing groups, like the National Right to Work Foundation, might get the ax as well. Legal action is being planned by a number of these organizations.

Such behavior is sadly predictable in the case of the White House. More disturbing, however, is that part of the impetus for the restrictions came from none other than the sainted United Way, the Godfather of Giving, which became upset at action groups cutting into its normal charity round-up. According to the New York Times, United Way organized a coalition of twenty major charities last year to petition the president to clamp the lid on action groups. The president's executive order closely follows their request.

A representative of United Way told the Times, "A lot of the money went to special interest groups. I'm not saying that they don't have valid social roles, but they tend to drain money away from the priority health and welfare needs." In fact, much of the money to United Way is directed to agencies that range in social consciousness from the conservative to the conventional to the just plain

lethargic. Basically, United Way seems to regard clinics that treat victims of lead poisoning, for example, a priority but campaigning against the causes of the poisoning a lesser matter.

An uncomfortable example of the United Way ethos is the YMCA, which uses its tax-exempt status to maintain an expensive and elaborate health club in western downtown Washington while failing to provide adequate services to black Washington.

In view of United Way's involvement in the new federal restrictions, a boycott of United Way by people of social conscience would seem to be in order this year.

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS (UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS): The astounding moves towards restricting the local franchise continues apace as mentioned elsewhere in this column. But postponing some elections and refusing to hold others are not the only mischief afoot as one-time champions of home rule concoct new ways to make it harder to vote.

One of these is the League of Women Voters. Not only does the League want total reregistration of voters, it wants all initiatives submitted to the council for possible action before being placed on the ballot, initiatives in even years only, a longer time between initiative filing dates and elections, and an "official voters information pamphlet" mailed to all registered voters.

Meanwhile, ex-freedom fighter David Clarke wants (in addition to cancelling next fall's elections) to

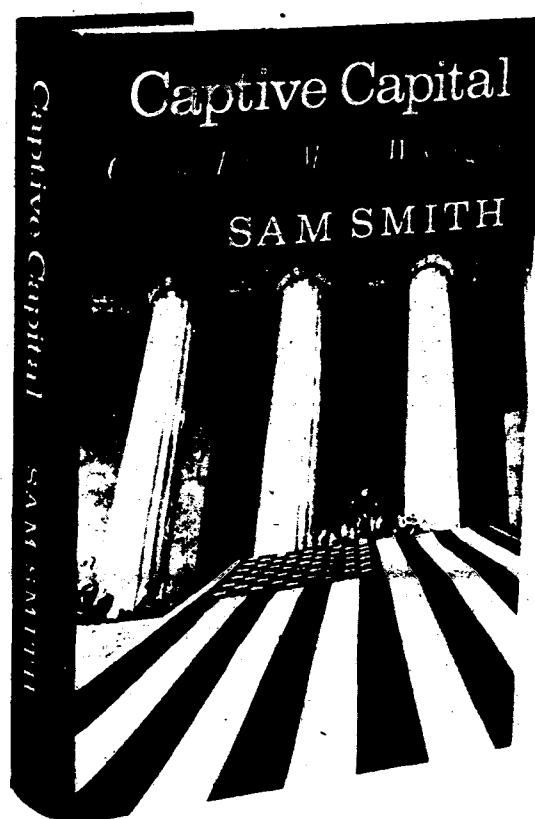


put restrictions on write-ins and introduce various other dubious changes.

WHAT IF IT FAILS?: I notice, with some bemusement, the practice of the school board "retroactively" approving the use of its facilities by various groups, such as the disco held at Woodson Senior High on January 14. Even in DC, this seems like a strange legislative process.

ANC ELECTIONS: ANC 2D has done an analysis of neighborhood commission elections and 2D executive director Gottlieb Simon sends along these remarks:

The most interesting point of this tabulation is that it shoots down the widespread misconception that very



Could be an excellent gift for any friend just moving to town. Or any friend who has managed to live here for sometime without learning anything about Washington. . . . Sam Smith's is one of the few efforts I have seen that manages to deal with black people and white people without insulting either." — WILLIAM RASPBERRY, WASHINGTON POST

It is absolutely 'must' reading for all who are interested in this city's history, its political or private life — JAMES TINNEY, WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN

Smith's book is a joy to read — ROBERT CASSIDY, CHICAGO TRIBUNE

"CAPTIVE CAPITAL" tells the story of non-federal Washington, the city beyond the monuments. Published in 1974, on the eve of an elected government in DC, it tells of the city's struggle for independence and self-respect. Written by Gazette editor Sam Smith.

Originally sold for \$8.50, the book is now available for \$5 (plus \$1 postage and handling and 30 cents sales tax). Send orders to the DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009.

few people vote for ANCs, that the typical ANC commissioner is elected by a handful of friends, if that many. Actually, people vote for ANCs in about the same numbers as they do for any other DC government office. In the 1977 election, for instance, the vote for ANCs was 89% of the comparable votes in the school board races. People are surprised to learn this because ANC races are reported on a [single member district] basis, while all other races are reported on the precinct and ward basis. Thus, the votes from several SMDs may be combined to produce the results for a single precinct, while the smallest ward has as many as 39 SMDs. As a result, it is immediately obvious when only a few people in a particular SMD vote in a ANC election, but it is not at all obvious that only the same small number are voting for higher offices.

Going back to the 1981 results, we found that 120 votes or more were cast in half of all the SMD races. Contrary to the popular stereotype, in only ten percent of all the races were just 9 or fewer votes cast. More significantly, in nine percent of all ANC races, 350 votes or more were cast. So it would be just as fair, and accurate, to say that the typical ANC commissioner was elected by several

hundred people, not one or two. Sadly, if not surprisingly, this is not the image that predominates.

If you look at the [figures] you come up with other interesting facts. For instance, Wards 4 and 5 had the most number of SMD races in which 375 or more votes were cast; Ward 3, which is known for its voter participation, and Ward 7 tied for second in this category. Even Ward 8, which is considered to have low turn-outs, boasts 5 SMDs, 13% of its total, with 200 or more voters.

PRESIDENTIAL LOGIC: It has been said that politicians are like pigs; you have to hit them on the snout to get their attention. Apparently, it takes even more than that to affect our president. Reagan, who was almost killed by an attempted assassin wielding a handgun, last month told a news conference that he was still opposed to strict gun control laws, and cited the fact that John Hinckley shot him in the town "that has about the strictest gun control laws" in the country. As Marion Barry pointed out later, however, "John Hinckley didn't buy his gun in the District of Columbia. He bought it in Texas." To Barry, once nearly assassinated himself, the moral was that we need an equally strict national gun law.

AROUND TOWN

- Bright Morning Star, a troupe of songwriters and storytellers, and Serious Bizness, a group of freedom singers, will perform on March 26 at 8pm at Catholic University for the benefit of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft. Tickets are \$5 in advance and \$6 at the door. Info: 547-4340.

- The Community Referral Service is a non-profit organization which maintains a list of approved home maintenance firms. Info: 897-5680

- Common Capital Fund is accepting applications for funding through April 15. The fund gives small grants, averaging \$2000, to DC groups working for social change. Info: 265-1305.

- Larry Weston, a long-time staff member of the Metropolitan Washington Planning and Housing Association, has been named executive director of the organization, replacing Jim Harvey.

- More than 84 percent of DC elementary school children got mid-term promotions this year, an 11 percent improvement over last year's results.

- Sears, Roebuck has bought the Apex Liquor Store on Pennsylvania Avenue and some adjoining buildings to use as headquarters for its international trading subsidiary. The Apex, one of downtown's more pleasant structures, once served as the studio of photographer Matthew Brady. The buildings were, like the Willard and the Old Post Office, once slated for demolition as part of the original even more hideous Pennsylvania Avenue plan, but protests by citizens and community groups, including this

journal and its architectural critic and cartoonist, John Wiebenson, helped pave the way for a slight element of sanity on the avenue. Sears main headquarters, incidentally, are in the world's tallest building.

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FREE RESOURCE DIRECTORY OF PSYCHOTHERAPISTS. Write Washington Academy of Psychotherapists, Box 42014, Washington DC 20015-0614. (sum)

WOMEN'S SPORTS — Looking for a new sport that's more exciting than softball and more challenging than soccer? Try RUGBY, the thinking woman's sport. Interested women call 234-0697 or 328-1426. (apr)

"Firebreaks," a role-play game on how to prevent nuclear war, will be played at the Peace Center in April as part of the nationwide educational program sponsored by Ground Zero. Anyone interested in playing is welcome to join us and should call the Peace Center to register.

"Firebreaks" are the tools that would be used in a super-power crisis to avert a nuclear confrontation. Players in the game will divide into two groups representing advisors to either the US or Soviet Union. As the game's simulated crisis unfolds the players analyze and discuss the situation and advise their respective governments on what course of action to take.

Anyone can play the game--no technical knowledge is required. Roughly twelve players are needed for each game. The Peace Center will organize as many games as there are players for and will also help other interested groups to organize games. For more information contact the Peace Center at 234-2000 or Joe Miller at 656-6555.

ing. So you see, Ollie Carr, even the big boys understand there is more to life than high-rises.

- Maine has become the 11th state to ratify the DC Congressional Voting Rights Amendment. 27 other states must ratify by August 1985 for the amendment to become part of the constitution.

- The federal Department of Housing and Urban Development says it's withholding about a quarter of the city's community block grant funds because of continuing "unacceptable performance" in spending the money. This is the third year in a row such an action has been taken in effort to make the city keep track of its money better. We suppose Mayor Barry has been just too busy trying to reduce the city's deficit.

- Hilda Mason has introduced legislation that would make local residency a job preference item rather than a requirement as is presently the case.

- The city's office vacancy rate is double that of last year.

- The city's condominium conversion law has been upheld by the Superior Court.

- The Martin Luther King Library is now open on Sundays from one to five pm.

- The Mayor's Commission on Crime and Justice has recommended enactment of a speedy trial law this year. Currently there are average delays of more than eight months in processing criminal cases and a backlog of more than 2000 cases.

- St. Mark's Episcopal Church is trying to set up a relationship with a sister church in the Soviet Union. Says Walt Brooks of the Capitol Hill church: "The peace movement has lots of good things going politically. We hope our effort will be a step toward providing some of the spiritual vigor it needs as well."

- War on Hunger is conducting a

MYTHS & FACTS

The Data Book is a compilation of much of the information amassed for the Greater Washington Research Center's Task Force on Local Government Response to Fiscal Pressure. The information is presented primarily by county for each of the six central jurisdictions in the Washington area for 1970 and 1980. Some comparisons are made between the Washington metropolitan area and other major metropolitan areas. Examples of a few of the facts in the Data Book are shown below.

POPULATION

MYTH: Washington is one of the fastest growing areas in the country.

FACT: Metropolitan Washington's growth slowed in the 1970s to a rate far below the national average.

MYTH: The District of Columbia has the largest population among Washington area jurisdictions.

FACT: Prince George's County has the largest population, and Montgomery and Fairfax Counties are each nearly as large as the District.

MYTH: The back-to-the-city movement has stopped population decline in the District.

FACT: The District lost nearly 100,000 people in the past ten years, 75 percent of them black.

MYTH: "Gentrification" is bringing large numbers of well-to-do whites back to the central city from the suburbs.

FACTS: While significant in a few neighborhoods, gentrification involves small numbers of people overall. The people moving into these neighborhoods are mostly middle-income, and the vast majority previously lived either in the District of Columbia or outside the Washington metropolitan area, not in the Washington suburbs.

RACE

MYTH: The District of Columbia is changing again to a majority white population.

FACT: The District of Columbia is 70 percent black, the same as it was ten years ago.

MYTH: Most blacks in the metropolitan area live in the District.

FACT: Nearly half of the area's blacks live outside the District.

MYTH: Blacks moving to the Washington area usually move to the District of Columbia.

FACTS: Most blacks who moved to the area during the past decade took up residence in the suburbs.

MYTH: The District of Columbia has the largest percentage of blacks of any city in U.S.

FACT: The District of Columbia ranks 5th in its percentage of blacks; East St. Louis, Illinois, ranks number 1.

EDUCATION

MYTH: Although public school enrollment in the District is shrinking, enrollment in the rest of the area is pretty constant.

FACTS: Over the last decade, public school enrollment has declined in all 6 central jurisdictions.

During the same period it increased strongly in outlying jurisdictions.

- MYTH:** Public school enrollment has declined in D.C. because all the whites have gone to private schools.
- FACT:** The District lost 43,000 black students and 3,000 white students during the 1970s while private school enrollment remained constant.

INCOME

- MYTH:** The District of Columbia is becoming a city of the very poor and the very rich.
- FACT:** Well over half of the District's families are middle-income.
- MYTH:** Blacks in Washington make less money than blacks in other areas.
- FACT:** Among the metropolitan areas with large black populations, Washington is by far the most affluent, with its median black family income 40 percent higher than other metropolitan areas.

EMPLOYMENT

- MYTH:** Nearly everyone who lives in the Washington area works for the Federal Government.
- FACTS:** One-fourth of the work force is employed by the Federal government, ten percent works for state and local governments, and the majority works in private (often government-related) business.
- Most jobs added during the 1970s were in the private sector.
- MYTH:** Most women who live in the suburbs are housewives.
- FACTS:** Most women who live in the suburbs work. In fact, most of the women who live in the Washington area work. Nearly half of the total labor force is female.

WELFARE

- MYTH:** Most people in the District of Columbia are on welfare.
- FACT:** Less than 15 percent of District of Columbia residents receive AFDC (the principal welfare program).
- MYTH:** The number of people receiving welfare in the District of Columbia has skyrocketed over the last several years.
- FACT:** Among the 6 central jurisdictions, the smallest percentage increase in welfare recipients over the last decade was in the District.
- MYTH:** Most women on welfare keep having babies to get bigger government checks.
- FACTS:** The average family size of AFDC recipients has dropped as low as 2.4 persons per family in the Washington area. Payments average \$2,800 per family per year.

COMMUTING

- MYTH:** Most people travel to work in downtown D.C.
- FACTS:** Twice as many area residents work outside the District as work in it. Of the suburban work force, only one out of three commutes to the District.

The Data Book is available from the Greater Washington Research Center, 1717 Mass. Ave. NW (403), DC 20036 for \$20.00.

food collection for people with emergency food needs due to unemployment, illness, loss of home through fire or eviction, loss or theft of food stamps, or other unforeseen misfortune. Many churches and synagogues are collecting food weekly. Cash contributions can be sent to the Cress

Food Bank project, PO Box 8689, DC 20011. Info: Rev. Lloyd Fennell, 723-0421.

• The Southeast and Petworth Library branch libraries have reopened after renovations.

• The Ward Two Democrats are holding a constitutional convention on March 19th to establish a Ward Two Democratic Club. Registered Democrats from the ward are invited to the meeting, which will be held in room A-05 of the King Library starting at 1030 am. Bring proof of voter registration. Info: Linda Greenan, 393-3390.

• A benefit screening of "Grand Canyon By Dory" will be shown on April 7 at 730 pm at the Lisner Auditorium. The film, which follows a three hundred mile river journey, is sponsored by the GEO Club of GWU and the River Conservation Fund. Tickets are \$5 to the general public and are available at the door and also at Appalachian Outfitters, Old Town Ski and Outdoors, Kemp Mill Records and the American Rivers Conservation Council, 323 Penna. Ave. SE. Proceeds will benefit the ARCC.



Roses & Thorns

• ROSES TO BOB BOYD who delivered his testimony in support of adequate funding for the DC libraries in verse, as in: "Now, if the Mayor's pledges and budget number short out your computer,/ Please err on the side of tomorrow's child, not this afternoon's commuter."

ROSES TO DC LIBRARY DIRECTOR HARDY FRANKLIN, who won this year's Public Library Association Allie Beth Martin Award. The award is given to a public librarian who has "demonstrated extraordinary range and depth of knowledge about books and other library materials and has exhibited a distinguished ability to share that knowledge."

THORNS to the City Council which reached major budget decisions in secret sessions. The council, which loves to complain about the mayor refusing to deal openly with it is guilty of the same behavior in relation to the public.

ROSES to Local 25 of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union which negotiated a settlement with AU that resulted in the rehiring of 56 of 91 cleaning workers fired earlier this year as an economy move. Under the agreement, the cleaning service which won the university contract will hire 56 of the ex-employees at the same rate of pay. A complaint to the NLRB was dropped as part of the deal, but Local 25 plans to organize the workers. Says union president Minor Christian, "I don't see how they can cut from 91 to 56 unless they plan to leave some dorms dirty."